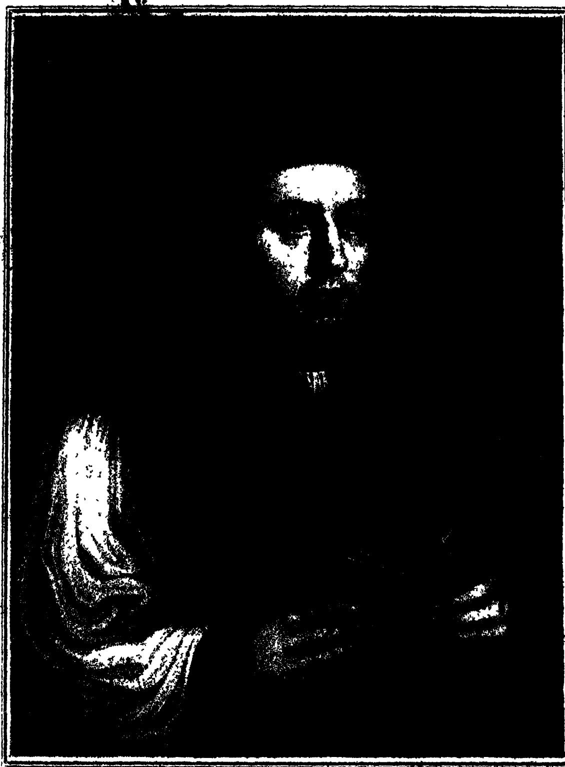


THOMAS CRANMER, D. D.

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE

LIFE

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

BY

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PREFACE.

THE chief materials for the Biography of Archbishop Cranmer, are to be found in Foxe,—in Burnet's History of the Reformation,—in Strype's Life of Cranmer,—and in his Ecclesiastical Memorials. Some additional particulars may be derived from other histories of that period, both ecclesiastical and general. The Life of the Archbishop, by Gilpin, is but a slight performance; and besides, it does not possess the advantage of any reference to authorities. The recent work of Mr. Todd, on the same subject, is extremely valuable, for its faithfulness and accuracy; as, also, for some important documents and letters, with which it has been enriched by the indefatigable patience and industry of its author.

The object of the following attempt has been to

collect into a compendious narrative, the substance of more voluminous compilations; and to present it to the British public, in a manner which may enable them duly to estimate their obligations to the great Master Builder of the Protestant Church of England.

There is reason to hope that, previously to the appearance of the second volume of this work, the author will have the advantage of consulting the whole of the Archbishop's writings; a complete collection of which, comprising those which have hitherto remained in manuscript, is now in preparation at the Clarendon press, Oxford.

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INTRODUCTION.

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The principles of Wiclif repressed for a time, but not extinguished.

THE seeds of religious reformation, which had been prodigally scattered by Wiclif and his followers, took deep root in the hearts of the people of England. No efforts, indeed, were spared by the Romish hierarchy to trample them down: and, for considerably

more than a century after his death, their exertions were, to outward appearance, abundantly successful. During that period, the statutes of Richard II. and of Henry IV. did their hateful office. The truth was trodden beneath the feet of the ecclesiastical and civil power. But the life was never crushed out of it; and it sprung up, at last, with a vigour, that proved both the favourable nature of the soil, and the imperishable hardiness of the plant.

Persecution of Lollardism in the reign of Henry VIII.

The persecution, which had continued to depress the public mind, from the accession of Henry IV. to the death of Henry VII., underwent no relaxation during the earlier period of the reign of Henry VIII. The fierceness with which it occasionally raged, (until the great question of the royal divorce burst in, to divide and weaken the dominant Church,) is amply testified by the episcopal registers of those times. The accession of Henry was in April, 1509: and both that, and several succeeding years, were remarkable for the rigorous proceedings of Bishop Fitzjames against the heretics of London diocese. Similar severities were inflicted by Archbishop Warham in the diocese of Canterbury[1]. And these cruelties, it should be observed, were thought necessary some years before the incursion of the new doctrines from Germany. It was not till September, 1517, that Luther published at Wittemberg his Ninety-five Propositions against the Extortion of the Papal Questors: and some in-

[1] Foxe, Burnet, b. i. p. 27—30, ed. 1679.

terval would unavoidably elapse, before the impulse, which agitated the continent of Europe, could powerfully communicate itself to the mind of England. All the individuals, therefore, who suffered, or were terrified into abjuration, both before that period, and for some time after it, must have derived their convictions, from the perusal of the Scriptures, in the version of Wiclif, and from the numerous tracts of the great Reformer and his followers, which no vigilance of inquisition had been able entirely to suppress.

There seems, however, to be little doubt that the activity of the Romish priesthood in England was fiercely sharpened by the progress of the great religious revolution in Germany. The proceedings against the Lollards, about this time, assumed an aspect of most fearful severity. In 1519, six men and one woman were burned in Coventry, during the passion week[1], for teaching their children the Lord's prayer and the ten commandments in English: and the year 1521 was calamitously distinguished by the activity with which Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, laboured for the suppression of heretical pravity throughout his diocese; and, more especially, by his persecution of the Lollards of Buckinghamshire[2]. The same sanguinary course was pursued during the following years, by the vigilant guardians of the Romish orthodoxy: and about 1527, Cardinal Wolsey

[1] Foxe. Burnet, b. i. p 31, ed. 1679.

[2] The account of this persecution may be found in Foxe: from whom it has recently been printed by the Religious Tract Society, Brit. Reformers, p. 210—242.

began to raise his almost omnipotent voice, and to call upon the hierarchy for a faithful and unsparing discharge of their duty to the *Catholic* Church. Of the alacrity with which this call was obeyed, sufficient evidence may be found in the registers even of the comparatively mild and charitable Bishop Tonstal; who, at that time, occupied the see of London. It appears from those dismal records, that the whole interval between 1527 and 1531, was rendered unhappily memorable by the exertions of that prelate for the suppression of Scriptural Christianity: and it was not till the disgrace and fall of Wolsey, and the marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn, that the Gospellers (as they were called) experienced a suspension or mitigation of their sufferings[1].

It would be foreign to our present purpose to exhibit in detail these melancholy annals of martyrdom. The sufferers were, generally, found in the humbler walks of life. And it is one most hateful feature in the inquisitorial system of that period, that almost all of them were convicted on the extorted testimony of their associates. Nay, the bonds of domestic confidence, and the sacred ties of kindred, were rent asunder by the hand of persecution: and not only were servants compelled to appear as traitors to their masters, but parents and children were constrained to stand forward as the accusers of each other. But though a lengthened narrative of these atrocities is

[1] See Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. i. c. 7, 8; and Append. Nos. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22

incompatible with our design, one name there is which must not be passed over without distinguished mention. The tale of Bilney's martyrdom has been frequently related; and, on one account more especially, it is full of solemn interest: for it shows how irresistibly the spiritual principle within us will eventually assert its supremacy over flesh and blood, when once it has been touched with the living fires of the sanctuary. Thomas Bilney, it is well known, was a student of the University of Cambridge, where he became a respectable proficient in the civil and canon law. But having, as Foxe expresses it, "gotten a better schooling, even the Holy Spirit of Christ," he forsook "the knowledge of man's laws, and converted his study to those things which tended more to godliness than to gain." In two particulars, indeed, like many other adversaries of the Papal despotism, he preserved his orthodoxy unimpeached;—for his understanding never broke away from the Romish perversion, relative to the power of the keys, and the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament. But he speedily became conspicuous for his unwearied testimony against the grosser traditional superstitions of the Romish Church: and in 1527 was consigned, by Cardinal Wolsey, to the judicature of Bishop Tonstal. The comparative moderation of that estimable man, proved more formidable to Bilney's constancy, than the darkest terrors of persecution would probably have been; and it won from him, at last, a reluctant abjuration of his obnoxious opinions. But the fire still

Bilney.

remained *shut up in his bones*, and would not suffer him to rest. The pangs of his conscience became so intolerable, that his friends dared not to leave him in solitude either by day or by night. They essayed to comfort him; but he refused to be comforted. And as for the consolatory words of Scripture, with which they sought to assuage his anguish, they were to him "as if a man should run him through the heart with a sword!" At length, however, he suddenly recovered his serenity; and declared to his friends that his face was set to go up unto Jerusalem. The manner of this pilgrimage speedily became apparent. His voice was again lifted up for the truth, which, in a moment of weakness, he had renounced; and the cheerfulness of his last hours soon testified to the world, that the pains of martyrdom are light, in comparison with the agonies of a wounded spirit[1].

But while the ministers of the Church were on the quest, throughout the humbler regions of society, certain signs had long been discernible in the *high places* of this realm, which portended the approach of danger to her supremacy. And here, it is impossible to remark, without pride and satisfaction, that, even in the worst of times, the judges of the land had

[1] It was affirmed by Sir Thomas More, that Bilney recanted a second time at the stake: and Collier is of opinion that Foxe has failed to disprove this assertion. But yet it is scarcely to be credited that, if he had repeated his recantation, Latimer would speak of him so confidently, and so repeatedly, as he does in his sermons, as a martyr to the reformed doctrines. See Eccl. Biog. vol. ii. p. 40—52.

occasionally manifested but small inclination to deliver the laity, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of the Romish priesthood. Their firmness had been more particularly exemplified in two instances, which occurred in the reign of Edward IV. In the first of these cases, one Keyser, who had been excommunicated by Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, at the suit of another, ventured openly to affirm, (in conformity with the principles of Wiclif,) that the censure was not to be feared; for that, in spite of the archbishop's sentence, he was not excommunicated in the judgment of God. Upon this he was committed under the warrant of the primate, as one justly suspected of heresy. The judges, however, on his application, granted him a writ of *habeas corpus;* and when the prisoner was produced, and, with him, the warrant for his imprisonment, they declared that the matter contained in that document was not within the meaning of the statute; and, having first bailed him, they afterwards ordered him to be discharged. The other case was that of a person by the name of Werner, who was imprisoned by the command of the Bishop of London, for having said that he was not bound to pay tithes to his curate. The man, having escaped from his confinement, brought an action for false imprisonment against the bishop's officer. The defendant pleaded the statute of Henry IV. But the judges determined that the plea was bad; for that the words spoken by Werner, although erroneous, were

The cases of Keyser and Werner, in the reign of Edward IV. adverted to.

not heretical.[1] Whether this formidable decision met with any resistance from the clergy, is now unknown. But their astonishment and displeasure must, doubtless, have been vehemently excited, by a precedent which, if followed up to its utmost extent, might end in transferring, from the ecclesiastical to the secular tribunals, the office of pronouncing what opinions fell within the description of heresy.

1516. The Abbot of Winchelcomb's book on the immunities of the clergy.

Early in the reign of Henry VIII., another instance occurred, of evil augury to the privileges and immunities of the Church. About the year 1516, a book was published by the Abbot of Winchelcomb, the object of which was to prove, that all clerks, whether of the higher or the lower orders, are sacred, and, consequently, exempt from punishment by the secular judicature, even for the most flagitious crimes. This doctrine instantly produced so violent an agitation, that an address was presented to the king by the temporal lords, with the concurrence of the Commons, soliciting him to suppress the audacious insolence of the clergy. In compliance with this request, his majesty brought the matter to a solemn hearing, before all the judges and the members of his council. The supremacy of the law of the land was maintained by Dr. Standish, the chief of the king's spiritual advisers. The doctrines of his own book were hotly vindicated

Discussions of his doctrine.

[1] Burnet, b. i. p. 27.

by the abbot himself; and the main authority on which he relied for its defence, was the scriptural text, *Touch not mine anointed*[1], *(Nolite tangere Christos meos)*. The court was so little satisfied with this application of the words of David, that they urgently moved the bishops to order that the abbot should recant his opinion at St. Paul's Cross. This demand was resisted; and was followed, not only by much intemperate debate, but by some violent proceedings on the part of the Convocation, who issued a monition to Standish to answer to certain articles to be exhibited against him. On this the doctor appealed to Henry for his royal protection: and the result was, another meeting of the judges, the council, and a deputation from both houses of Parliament, at Blackfriars, to hear the question once more discussed. On this occasion, the clergy contended, that to violate the sacred immunities of their order, was no less than a breach of the commandment, *honour thy Father!* This argument, however, met with no better success than the abbot's quotation from the Psalms; for the judges concurred in declaring, that those of the Convocation who had been concerned in issuing the citation against Standish, had fallen within the penalties of a *præmunire*. A final meeting on the subject was held by the King at Baynard's Castle; at which, in spite of the urgent entreaties and representations of Cardinal Wolsey, his Majesty pronounced the following memorable determination:—

1516.

[1] Psa. cv. 15.

"By the permission and ordinance of God, we are king of England; and the kings of England, in times past, never had any superior but God only. Therefore, know you well, that we will maintain the right of our crown, and of our temporal jurisdiction, as well in this as in all other points, in as ample a manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time. And as for your decrees, we are well assured that you of the spiritualty go expressly against the words of divers of them, as hath been showed you by some of our council. You interpret your decrees at pleasure; but we will not agree to them, more than our progenitors have done in former times."

The declaration of the king against ecclesiastical jurisdiction in temporal matters.

The edge of the public indignation against the clergy was rendered keener by an occurrence which took place while the above proceedings were pending; and which, unfortunately, exhibited the bitterness of their spirit in a very odious light. It happened that one Richard Hunne, a reputable merchant-tailor in London, having refused a mortuary fee on the death of a child of five weeks old, was sued by the clerk in the spiritual court, then sitting by virtue of the Cardinal's legatine authority. By this proceeding, the clerk had exposed himself to the penalties of the statute of *præmunire*, which forbids the practice of bringing the King's subjects before a foreign court. The clergy, on hearing that Hunne had been advised to that effect by his counsel, manifested their displeasure by endeavouring to fix upon

1516. The murder of Hunne.

him the charge of heresy. On his examination before Fitzjames, Bishop of London, he acknowledged that he had uttered some words which might possibly bear a sinister construction; for which, however, he reverently submitted himself to the correction of his diocesan. He was, nevertheless, committed to the Lollard's Tower in St. Paul's, where he was treated with inhuman severity; and in the month of December was found hanged in the chamber of his prison. It was given out by Dr. Horsey, the bishop's chancellor, that the deceased had laid violent hands upon himself. This allegation, however, was negatived both by the appearances of the body, and by other evidence produced before the coroner's jury; and their verdict fixed the guilt upon the chancellor himself, and another inferior officer.

While the inquest was in progress, the bishop had recourse to a proceeding which seemed to indicate an almost incredible infatuation. He commenced a process for heresy against the dead body of the murdered man; and, in conjunction with the Bishops of Durham and Lincoln, and many other divines and canonists, actually condemned it to be burned; and this, too, merely upon the ground of certain articles, gathered out of Wiclif's Preface to his Version of the Bible, which book the deceased was proved to have had in his possession. On the 20th of December the sentence was carried into execution at Smithfield: and loud and general were the execrations which followed it; more especially in the City of London, which, from that day forward, lost all habitual respect for the

Papal clergy. In the mean time, the inquest upon the body proceeded with their labours; and, in pursuance of their verdict, the bishop's chancellor and his accomplice were indicted for the murder. The King, however, having vindicated his prerogative by bringing the criminals to the bar of the secular court, and being unwilling to inflict further humiliation on the Church, directed the attorney-general to suspend his proceedings. The prisoners were accordingly discharged; and Horsey, the bishop's chancellor, retired to Exeter; and never again ventured to show himself in London[1].

Nothing would be more unreasonable than to select atrocities like this as fair examples of the general temper which regulated the ancient domination of the spiritual orders. Neither is it to be imagined that the above is a solitary, or even a very remarkable instance, of resistance to their occasional enormities. Our historical records bear ample testimony to the vigour with which the spirit of the nation had repeatedly risen up against the usurpations and the crimes of the priesthood. The symptoms of opposition, however, which manifested themselves about this period, are, on one account, especially remarkable. They were followed by no immediate appearance of vindictive re-action on the part of Rome. Much slighter provocations, offered to the majesty of the Church, would, in other times, have probably been followed by tempestuous strife. But, on this occasion, the Genius of the

[1] Burnet, b. i. p. 13—18.

Vatican was tame and silent. The good offices of a monarch so powerful as Henry VIII. were, just then, too valuable for the Apostolic See to throw away: and hence it was, that the pontifical vengeance appeared to slumber over insult and aggression. In the year 1519, the spirit of the age was seen to manifest itself in a manner less contentious indeed, but still more remarkable and decisive. The outcry for a reformation in the manners of the clergy had long been so impetuous, that Wolsey himself was at length deeply impressed with the danger of disregarding it. He appears to have prepared himself for the advancement of this object by every means within his power, always excepting the influence of his own personal example. His pomp and luxury, indeed, together with the notorious dissoluteness of his life, have made him, to all subsequent time, the very image and representative of insolent and ambitious favourites. But there was a grandeur of mind, and a loftiness and strength of purpose about him, which must always sustain his name far above the regions of contempt. And never, perhaps, was the force of his character more signally displayed, than by the measures he had in contemplation for restoring the Church to its place in the public respect. He procured from Rome a bull, filled with the bitterest denunciations against the immorality and ignorance of the clergy, and empowering the Cardinal to exercise his legatine authority by a severe inquisition into every department of the Church, both secular and monastic. And, in

1519. Views of Wolsey, respecting the reformation of the clergy.

order that this proceeding might not sound in the public ear like an empty menace, he further obtained authority from the Pope for the suppression of the whole or the greater part of the monasteries throughout the realm, and for their conversion into bishoprics, and collegiate churches, and seminaries for the promotion of learning and religion. Whether the Pontiff seriously anticipated any effective result, when he gave his sanction to this sweeping design, it would be difficult to ascertain. But it is well known that the Cardinal himself communicated his own views to the King; and it is highly probable that his secretary Cromwell laid up the project in his heart, as a model for the scheme of abolition which he was afterwards enabled to accomplish. Some further pledge of Wolsey's sincerity may be found in the fact, that, soon afterwards, he actually did suppress forty religious houses, for the purpose of erecting his two splendid foundations, at Oxford and at Ipswich[1]. He was, however, diverted, by various causes, from the execution of his more comprehensive undertaking; and a respite of about sixteen years was thus obtained for the monastic system of England.

His project for the abolition of the monastic system in England.

In the course of a short time, the prudent and forbearing policy of the Apostolic Conclave

1522.

[1] It has been asserted that his Holiness was reconciled to this measure by a good round share of the spoil. "In this business," says Archbishop Bramhall, "our historians tell us, the pope *lick.d his own fingers*, to the value of twelve barrels full of gold and silver." Bramhall's works, tom. i. p. 180. ed. 1676.

appeared to have its reward in the controversial volume put forth by the royal theologian of England, against the grand heresiarch of the age. The only permanent effect, however, of this performance, was to secure to the kings of England the empty and ambiguous title of *defender of the faith*. It did literally nothing to arrest the progress of the Lutheran doctrines; aided as they were at that period by the appearance of Tindal's translation of the Scriptures. But even if it had combined, in all their perfection, the learning and subtlety of a schoolman, with the piety of a saint, an event was near at hand which must have effectually neutralized its operation. The history of Henry's union with the widow of his brother, is too well known to need a detailed repetition. It may be sufficient to state that, on the death of Prince Arthur, in 1502, Henry VII. was, beyond measure, unwilling to disgorge the noble dowry of the Spanish princess; and that the marriage of Catherine with his surviving son, was, in his judgment, the most plausible of all expedients for an honourable retention of it. Nothing, however, could give validity to an alliance so uncanonical, if not so unscriptural, but the dispensation of the Pope; and this dispensation the Pontiff was very willing to grant, because it promised him the support of all future Kings of England, by making their legitimacy, and consequently their security, dependent on his supreme dispensing power. Little did he imagine that, by this tortuous policy, he was but charging a

The king's book against Luther.

Notice of his marriage with his brother's widow.

mine, the explosion of which was eventually to rend the English Empire from his spiritual dominion! The inauspicious nature of the match began to manifest itself even during the life-time of its wary projector. Three years after the royal boy was wedded to Catherine, the scruples of his father were awakened by Archbishop Warham, and impelled him to insist that the youthful bridegroom should execute a recorded protestation against it. Nevertheless, in spite of this solemn instrument, the nuptials of Henry and Catherine were publicly celebrated, within six weeks after his accession to the throne. The hope of issue, however, was for some years defeated by the frequent miscarriages of the queen; and the disappointments of the sovereign and his people were but little mitigated by the birth of a daughter, the Princess Mary, in February, 1516.

The queen was about five years older than her royal husband. Her manners were exemplary, but austere almost to fanaticism: and, unhappily, years brought with them some infirmities which sensibly diminished the attachment of her youthful and voluptuous lord. Still, his alienation does not appear to have taken any definite shape till about the year 1527; at which time the project of an alliance with France was impeded by some hesitation, expressed by the Bishop of Tarbes, the French ambassador, relative to the legitimacy of the Princess Mary. This objection seems to have brought the misgivings, or the mislikings of the King, into open manifestation. He sought relief

1527. The King's scruples.

in a disclosure of his scruples to his bishops; and they, with the sole exception of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, declared that his marriage with Catherine was unlawful. Relying on his influence with the Pope, the King resolved on an application to Rome, for the dissolution, or rather for the avoidance, of his union with Arthur's widow. The proposal, in the first instance, was graciously entertained by the Pontiff, who, at that time, was in a state of ignominious durance, inflicted by the Emperor. The escape of Clement from his captivity, however, seems to have produced a considerable alteration in his view of the question: and, from that moment commenced the vexatious course of Papal duplicity and fraud, which ended in the degradation of Catherine,—the exaltation of Anne Boleyn,—and the permanent disruption of the Church of England from the Apostolic See.

His application to the Pope for the dissolution of his marriage.

Delay and chicanery of the Court of Rome.

In what proportions the wounded conscience and the impetuous passions of Henry, contributed to promote this extraordinary revolution, it would be impossible for mortal sagacity to discover. It is sufficient for us to know that no human motives are pure from earthly admixture; and that, in all ambiguous cases, the judgment must be left to that Intelligence which can never err. With regard to Henry's affection for Anne Boleyn[1],

Anne Boleyn.

[1] It is almost beneath the dignity, and certainly alien from the purity of historical narrative, to detail at length the complicated abominations ascribed, by some Papal writers,.to the king's con-

it is far from improbable that it may have originated in nothing more than a vagrant inclination. But even if this were so, there must have been something akin to generosity in the feeling, which compelled him to respect and honour her resistance to all degrading proposals, and which still kept him faithful to her, surrounded as he must have been by beauties less untractable. It is, indeed, very credible, that his perception of the difficulties started by the Bishop of Tarbes, relative to the legitimacy of his daughter Mary, may have been sharpened by the sight of a new and youthful object of desire. But neither is it improbable that his admiration of Anne, and his doubts respecting the validity of his union with Catherine,

nexion with the Boleyn family. It has been affirmed, for instance, chiefly on the authority of Cardinal Pole, that Henry had been criminally intimate with Mary, the sister of Anne Boleyn. And this tale is repeated by Sanders, with the monstrous addition, that he had also been familiar with the mother of Mary Boleyn, and was actually the father of Anne, his future consort! It is further intimated by him, that the King was encouraged in his incestuous intrigue with Mary, by the facetious casuistry of a profligate courtier, named Brian, whose impieties had obtained for him the title of Vicar of Hell, and who, in strict conformity with that vocation, laboured to ease the royal scruples with indelicate and odious pleasantry. The words of Sanders are as follows: "Ab illo Rex quæsivit, quale peccatum videretur, matrem primùm, deinde filiam cognoscere? Cui Brianus, omninò (inquit) tale, ô Rex, quale gallinam primùm, deinde pullum ejus gallinaceum comedere." This is a specimen of the great authority from which the Romanists are often taught to derive their notions relative to the origin of the English Reformation.—Sand. de Schism. Anglic. p. 14, ed. 1628.

may have gradually grown up together, and have coalesced into one powerful and overruling motive of action. On the one hand, therefore, it may be reasonable enough to conjecture that, if the personal qualities of Catherine had been such as to secure a permanent dominion over his heart and fancy, the world might have heard but little of the pangs of the royal conscience, and England might probably have remained, to a much later period, in her ancient relation to the See of Rome. On the other hand, however, it would be but shallow philosophy to ascribe to the capricious appetite of Henry, as to one simple and uncompounded cause, those mighty movements which soon began to agitate the country, and which terminated in its deliverance from Papal usurpation.

It will, of course, have been remarked by the reader, that the spirit of William the Norman seemed to breathe once more in the determination pronounced by Henry respecting the immunities of the Clergy, when that matter was so rashly moved by the abbot of Winchelcomb, full ten years previously to the first agitation of the great matrimonial question. It will also be recollected that, about the same time, the royal prerogative had been intrepidly maintained, against the pretensions of the clergy, by the indictment of the Bishop of London's chancellor in the criminal court. Proceedings like these were, evidently enough, prelusive to the establishment of the doctrine, which eventually placed the King at the head of the ecclesiastical, as well as the civil power of his dominions: and, as might reasonably have been ex-

pected, the cause of the divorce opened the eyes of his Majesty more widely than ever, to the manifold advantages of this extension of his prerogative.

1530. The Convocation compelled to a partial recognition of the king's ecclesiastical supremacy.

It was not, however, till the year 1530, that this fatal breach was made in the ecclesiastical constitution. The clergy were, at that time, at the mercy of the King, in consequence of their submission to the legatine authority of Wolsey. The sum of nearly 120,000*l.* was exacted from them as the price of their deliverance from the *præmunire* which they had thus incurred: and the same opportunity was taken to extort from the Convocation an acknowledgment of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown. It must be confessed, that there was, upon the face of it, something egregiously iniquitous in this proceeding. The legatine power had been exercised by the cardinal, not only by the king's connivance, but with the warrant of an indemnity under the great seal. The clergy never abetted the cardinal in the exercise of this power; but were, simply, passive and helpless under it. And yet, this was converted into an occasion for exacting from them a vast sum of money, and of compelling them to recognise the Sovereign as the head of the Church. Their submission, after all, was not made without a reservation, sufficiently large to allow accommodation for varieties of opinion. The clause was introduced in a parenthesis; and it recognised the king as "sole Protector and Supreme Lord, and,—*so far as might be allowed by the law of Christ,*—supreme *Head* of the Anglican Church

and Clergy." The claim, however, being once admitted, gradually won its way, from the acts of the Convocation into those of the secular legislature [1].

That a spirit was actively at work, in opposition to the independent spiritual jurisdiction of the clergy, is further manifest from a paper drawn up about this time, and by some ascribed to the pen of Stephen Gardiner, then a strenuous advocate for the supremacy of the King. The document in question is very remarkable. It is addressed to some noble personage about the court, and suggests the following propositions for investigation and argument:

1532. Questions agitated respecting the power and jurisdiction of the Clergy.

1. That the power of making canons, and even of inflicting excommunication, belongs not, by the law of God, to the clergy, but had begun, and continued, by the sufferance of temporal princes.

2. That it belongs to the King, in parliament, to decide what causes shall be determinable in the spiritual courts, and to limit the manner of process, without any excommunication.

3. That the exercise of spiritual jurisdiction by the clergy had withdrawn great profit from his Majesty.

4. *That the King's Majesty hath as well the care of the souls of his subjects as of their bodies;* and may, by the law of God, in his parliament, make laws touching as well the one as the other.

5. That the text, *quæcunque ligaveritis*, &c. gave authority to the Apostles to make laws and keep

[1] See Collier, vol. ii. p. 61—64; and Append. No. 17; in which this grant is printed from the journals of the Convocation.

councils, until such time as a convenient number of lay-people should be converted to the faith; and that then the said text ceased. And, moreover, that the same text, being spoken to all the Church, as well as to the Apostles, gave power to the whole Church to make laws, and restrained the peculiar authority of the Apostles in that behalf.

6. That the successors of the Apostles have not like authority in all points as the Apostles had. That to affirm the Bishop of Rome to be head of the Universal Church, and thereby to have authority to summon general Councils, *is heresy;* and that the authority to summon general Councils, doth belong to Kings and Princes.

7. That the King may abolish, but cannot appoint holidays, without the authority of parliament.

8. That the text in Acts xx. 28, *Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers*, was not meant of such bishops only as be now of the clergy; but was, as well, meant and spoken of every ruler and governor of the Christian people.

This paper is without a date; and it must remain doubtful whether it should be referred to the year 1534, when the Act was made for constituting the King supreme Head of the Church of England [1], or to a period somewhat earlier. In either case, it furnishes sufficient evidence of the principles and views which, about that time, were becoming familiar, not

[1] See Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. i. c. 17.

only to licentious thinkers among the lower orders of the laity, but to persons in the habit of professional inquiry into such matters. And, therefore, without undertaking the defence of every opinion propounded in this document, we may at least rely upon it as a very striking indication of the change which was then passing over the public mind.

1532. General state of feeling and opinion relative to reformation.

The state of religious feeling and opinion in England, then, about the time of Cranmer's advancement to the primacy, may be sufficiently collected from the foregoing compendious exposition. The Romish corruptions, both in doctrine and practice, were very freely questioned in the humble walks of life; a bitter impatience of ecclesiastical usurpation was beginning to pervade the higher regions of society; and the King had already succeeded in obtaining from the Convocation, at least a partial and qualified acknowledgment of his prerogative, as supreme governor of the Church of England. Neither can it reasonably be doubted, that the doctrines of Luther had begun to produce formidable disturbance in the principles of a considerable portion of the clergy, both with respect to discipline and faith. Even among the hierarchy, individuals were to be found, who, though still faithful to the dogmatical theology of the Papal Church, were by no means unprepared for some abridgment of the pontifical power and jurisdiction. In common with the whole realm, the priesthood had long been grievously oppressed by the exactions of the court of Rome, and must have seen, with just in-

dignation, the encroachments of the monastic orders. They might, consequently, not be unwilling to hear of such a reformation of the existing system as would offer them relief from servitude and extortion, and restore them to the dignity and influence which had been wrested from them by the intrigues or the violence of the regular clergy. This feeling, however, though unquestionably natural, had the effect of weakening their power of opposition to the spirit which was abroad. It disabled them from presenting a front of resistance, either so extended or so compact, as the dangers of their condition seemed to require: and the consequence was, that the perishable portions of the ancient structure sunk beneath repeated assaults. It now remains for us to contemplate the perseverance and the wisdom, with which one man laboured gradually to clear away the worthless and ruinous materials, and to exhibit the enduring parts of the fabric in their original simplicity and grandeur.

CHAPTER II.

A.D. 1489—1531.

Parentage and Birth of Cranmer—His early education—Sent to Cambridge—Is elected fellow of Jesus College—His first marriage—The story that he was ostler at the Dolphin—Appointed reader at Buckingham College—Becomes a widower, and is restored to his fellowship—Is offered promotion to Wolsey's College at Oxford, which he declines—Proceeds to the degree of D.D.—Is appointed Divinity Lecturer to his College, and Public Examiner in Theology—Becomes tutor to the Cressys—Is nominated a delegate on the matrimonial cause, but is unable to attend—Avocation of the cause to Rome—Cranmer's opinion respecting the divorce—His introduction to the King—Is commanded to put his opinion in writing—Is sent with the embassy to Rome—Opinions of the Universities—Memorial to the Pope—Cranmer offers to maintain his opinion by disputation at Rome—Returns to England—His account of Pole's Book on the Divorce—His second mission to the continent—His marriage with the niece of Osiander.

Parentage and Birth of Cranmer.

THOMAS CRANMER was the second son of a gentleman, whose family had, for several generations, been settled in the county of Nottingham, and who traced his lineage to a follower of the Norman Conqueror. It was at the village of Aslacton in that county that Thomas was born: and we are told that, so recently as the year 1790, traces might be seen of the walks and

pleasure-grounds which belonged to the mansion of his fathers. Tradition likewise speaks of a small rising ground or mount, in the immediate neighbourhood of the house, from the summit of which, in his more peaceful days, the future primate of England was accustomed to survey the beauties of the surrounding scenery, and to listen to the music of the village bells. It is unpleasing to know that this memorial of the Archbishop has now wholly disappeared[1].

The day of Cranmer's birth was 2d July, 1489. Of his boyhood little is known, except that he was placed under the care of a churlish pedagogue, "a rude parish-clerk[2]," whose manners and temper were fitted to make learning hateful to his pupils; and that, while at home, he was trained, like the sons of other gentlemen, to the various sports and exercises of rural life. In these pursuits his proficiency appears to have been highly respectable, notwithstanding the shortness of his sight. In horsemanship, more especially, he acquired a degree of mastery which enabled him, after his highest advancement, to mount, without fear, the roughest and most unruly horses that could be found in his own stables.

1489. His early education.

Early in life he had the misfortune to lose his father. At the age of fourteen, however, he was placed by his mother at Jesus College, Cambridge, of which society he was elected

A.D. 1503.

[1] Add. to Thornton's Nottingh. vol. i. p. 264, cited in Todd's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 2.

[2] Strype, Cranm. b. i. c. 1.

fellow in 1510 or 1511. Some considerable portion of the interval between his admission and election was, unavoidably, devoted to the scholastic discipline then predominant in the university. This course of mental exercise, whatever were its defects, was well fitted to sharpen and invigorate his faculties; and to prepare him for his subsequent exertions in supplanting the injurious dominion of the schoolmen over the realms of theology. From the period of his election, his studies took a wider and more liberal range. Erasmus was, at that time, resident in the university; and by his presence and his example, as well as by his writings, contributed essentially to that revolution of literary taste, which opened the stores of sound and useful learning to the curiosity of the studious. That Cranmer became familiar with the works of this illustrious scholar and wit, is testified by all his biographers; and the impulse communicated by them could hardly fail to carry him forward into the regions of ancient and classic literature. Greek and Hebrew, accordingly, are known to have entered largely into his scheme of study; and it may be proper to notice, in this place, once for all, that it was, uniformly, his habit, like that of the great Lord Burghley, to read with a pen in his hand; and to fill his *adversaria* with every thing that appeared eminently worth noting, either by way of reference, or of actual transcription[1]. The collections which were thus accumu-

1510. Sent to Cambridge.

[1] Strype, Cranm. b. i. c. 1.

lated by his industry became an armoury of strength to him in the warfare to which he subsequently devoted his life.

First marriage of Cranmer.

Before he attained the age of twenty-three, he married a woman, possibly of humble, but still of reputable connections[1]. It so happened that she was related, by affinity, to the wife of a person who kept the Dolphin Inn, at Cambridge; and for this reason, Cranmer, instead of procuring apartments for her elsewhere, allowed her to reside in the house with her kinswoman, and there openly resorted to her society. An arrangement like this might, reasonably enough, excite considerable surprise in the present age of delicacy and refinement. It attracted no ordinary degree of notice even at that time; and has been made, by Roman Catholic writers, the foundation of a contemptible story, that Cranmer not only married, in private, a woman of *low* condition, but was himself an ostler at the Dolphin! It would be a waste of time to examine and expose this silly fiction, which places Cranmer in the stable-yard of a public inn, after he had become a master of arts, and had actually enjoyed a college fellowship. Even if the account were true, it would only make the future eminence of the man just so much the more astonishing. As it is, the assertion is worth noticing, only as it illustrates the unscrupulous hostility of his popish

Story that he was an ostler at the Dolphin.

[1] Foxe says, "the daughter of a gentleman," Eccl. Biog. vol. iii. p. 432.

detractors. It was something in their estimation, to associate with images of vulgarity and meanness, one of the most formidable names in the catalogue of their adversaries.

The marriage of Cranmer was, of course, attended with the forfeiture of his fellowship. It did not, however, disqualify him for the office of a college reader or lecturer: and to that office he was actually appointed, in Magdalen College, (then known by the name of Buckingham College,) though, in what faculty, is not altogether certain[1]. This engagement did not continue long. In about a year after his marriage he lost his wife; a calamity which gave occasion for the most gratifying testimony which his own college could possibly bear to his accomplishment and worth. By a construction of the statutes, which will excite some surprise at the present day, the *widower* was immediately restored to the fellowship which he had forfeited by his marriage; and was thus enabled to continue his theological studies without interruption. In 1524 he was strongly tempted to desert his college by an offer which, of itself, implies the honourable estimation in which he was held as a

Appointed reader to Buckingham College.

Becomes a widower, and is restored to his fellowship.

1524. Is offered promotion to Wolsey's College at Oxford.

[1] According to Fuller, it was in divinity; and here, if any where, it was that he verified the slander of his calumniators, who affirmed that he was an ostler; since, "with his learned lectures he curried the lazy hide of many an idle and ignorant friar," Fuller's Hist. Camb. p. 102.

scholar and a divine. At that time, the most diligen inquiry was made by the agents of Cardinal Wolsey at both universities, for men worthy to be transplante to his recent foundation at Oxford; and Cranme was among the persons selected for this distinguishe and comparatively lucrative promotion. He appear to have been at first inclined to listen to the proposal but his attachment to the college which had so signall favoured him, or the reluctance of his society to los so valuable a member, or some othe cause now unknown, brought him a last to the rather dangerous resolution of declinin the preferment designed for him by the imperiou Cardinal.

Which he declines.

At this time, he had proceeded to the degree c doctor in divinity[1]; soon after whic he was appointed to the divinity lec tureship in his own college; and, in th university, to that of public examine in theology. The latter of these office demanded of him no ordinary exercis of integrity. He had then been long devoted to th study of the sacred volume; and his attention to was sufficiently notorious to acquire for him the trul honourable, though at that time somewhat invidiou appellation of *scripturist*. The justice with which thi title was ascribed to him was, much to their dissatis faction, frequently experienced by those who wer desirous of proceeding in Divinity. Whatever migl

1523. Proceeds to the degree of D.D. Is appointed divinity-lecturer to his college, and public examiner in theology.

[1] According to Strype, in 1523.

be their accomplishment in the scholastic erudition, it never was accepted by Cranmer as a passport to their degree, if not accompanied by a competent knowledge of the Bible. The candidate, in such cases, was uniformly rejected by him, and admonished to dedicate some years to the examination of that book, which alone could instruct him in the grounds of his faith and hope. The resentment excited by his inflexible adherence to this great principle, it may easily be imagined, was often deep and violent; more especially among the friars. But the wisdom of it was, in many instances, abundantly justified by the grateful testimony of the disappointed candidates themselves; several of whom were known, in after life, to express their cordial thanks for the firmness, which compelled them to the attainment of a better knowledge than the schools could teach them[1].

Becomes tutor to the Cressys.

In addition to his public duties, Cranmer undertook, during his residence at Cambridge, the instruction of two young men named Cressy, whose mother was a relative of his, and whose father was a gentleman of property residing at Waltham Abbey, in Essex.

1528.

In 1528 an infectious disorder, which broke out in the town, and spread to some of the colleges, drove him, together with his pupils, from the university. They accordingly repaired to the house of Mr. Cressy, the father of those youths; where Cranmer continued to superintend

[1] Foxe, in Eccl. Biog. vol. iii. p. 434.

their studies, and to prosecute his own. At that period the whole realm was agitated, from one end of it to the other, with the great matrimonial cause of the King. While Cranmer was absent from Cambridge, six men of eminent learning had been selected from each university to confer upon this absorbing question. It furnishes an additional testimony to his reputation, that he was among the delegates nominated for this purpose. His continued absence from Cambridge, however, relieved him from any share in these discussions. Another delegate was appointed in his place, whose views of the question were different from his own; and the deliberations terminated in a manner far from satisfactory to the wishes of the Sovereign.

Nominated a delegate on the matrimonial cause.

But unable to attend.

But the time was near at hand which was to drag him forth from a life of studious quiet, and to involve him in all the turmoil and agitation of this extraordinary debate. In July 1529, the Legate Campeggio adjourned the King's cause to the following October, on the pretence that every court, assembled under the Papal authority, was bound to suspend its proceedings during the vacation, or recess, observed by the tribunals at Rome. The object of this stratagem was soon apparent. In the following August the brief arrived, commanding the avocation of the cause to the pontifical court, and citing the King and Queen to appear at Rome, by themselves or their proxies, there to abide the final decision of the Pope.

1529.

Avocation of the cause to Rome.

The indignation of Henry may easily be imagined. Wearied and exasperated by the eternal chicanery of Romish *justice*, he endeavoured to divert his vexation by an excursion into the country. Among his attendants were Gardiner, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, and Fox the royal almoner, subsequently Bishop of Hereford. Whether by accident, or design, a meeting took place between these persons and Cranmer, at the table of Mr. Cressy. They were naturally desirous of hearing the sentiments of one who, for his distinguished attainments, had been originally nominated among the Cambridge delegates. The great topic of general conversation was, of course, introduced. Cranmer protested that he had never given any deep attention to the question; but added, that he saw no end to the methods which had hitherto been employed for its determination. The matter in debate appeared to him sufficiently simple. The question was one which ought to be determined by reference to the word of God. None, therefore could be so fit to discuss it as the divines; and this discussion might, in his judgment, as well be conducted in the English Universities, as either at Rome, or in any foreign country. The merits of the case might thus be ascertained with little comparative charge or delay: and when once the opinions of learned men were collected, their authority would "compel any judge soon to come to a definitive sentence;" so that "these tumultuary processes might give place unto a certain truth[1]."

1529. Cranmer's opinion respecting the divorce.

[1] Foxe, in Eccl. Biog. vol. iii. p. 436. Strype's Cranm. b. i. c. 1.

It should here be observed, that the expedient suggested by Cranmer was not altogether new. It appears from a dispatch of Wolsey to Gregorio Cassali at Rome, dated Dec. 5, 1527, that the King had already consulted many of the most learned divines and canonists, as well in his own dominions as elsewhere, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the Pope's dispensation could give validity to his marriage with Catherine[1]. It further appears that Gardiner had plainly intimated to Clement that, "the King could do without him[2]." And it is also clear that the determination of the University of Orleans, in favour of the divorce, had already been received, when this conference took place[3]. The studies of Cranmer, however, had by this time satisfied him that the authority of the pope in foreign realms was nothing better than a usurpation; and his expressions, on this occasion, accordingly conveyed a virtual recommendation to realize the threat of Gardiner: for they very obviously intimated, not merely the expediency of an appeal to the divines, but the legitimacy of abiding by their judgment, as the ground of a definitive sentence, without any further resort to the Pontiff[4]. His words

[1] Burnet, vol. i. p. 45, 46, ed. 1679.

[2] Strype Mem. vol. i. App. No. 24.

[3] Burnet, b. ii. Rec. No. 34. It is dated April 5, 1529.

[4] Collier seems altogether to discredit this account. He says, "Here the time spoils the story," Coll. Eccl. Hist. p. 52. Undoubtedly it spoils the story of Cranmer being the very first to suggest the expedient of merely *consulting* the Universities. But it does *not* spoil the story of his being the first to recommend the

were speedily reported to the King, who seems to have received from them the same impression; for he instantly exclaimed, "Where is this Doctor Cranmer? I perceive he hath the right sow by the ear;" and he declared that if this mode of settling the question had been suggested to him but two years sooner, he might have been spared much unquietness of spirit, besides the heavy costs he had incurred in the prosecution of his suit[1]. A messenger was immediately dispatched for Cranmer, who was so far from anticipating any important result from the opinion he had recently expressed, that he had actually departed from Waltham. He was brought, however, most reluctantly to London; and, on his arrival there, he complained bitterly of the officiousness which had thus involved him in the turmoil of this doubtful and hazardous litigation; and he entreated of Gardiner and Fox that they would, if possible, relieve him from the necessity of coming into

His introduction to the King.

King to rely on their judgments, as a sufficient ground for a "*definitive sentence*," without any further resort to the authority of Rome. That this was actually the tenor of his advice, is, further, rendered highly probable by the assertion of the biographer of Bishop Fisher; who affirms that the point maintained by Cranmer at this meeting, was the supremacy of the King: for, if the King's supremacy could once be established, it would follow, of course, that, after fortifying his case by an appeal to the learning of Europe, he might bring the matter to a final issue in *his own ecclesiastical courts*. And this is the course which he actually followed. Life of Fisher, by Thomas Bailey, p. 96, ed. 3. See Eccl. Biog. vol. iii. p. 437.

[1] Foxe, in Eccl. Biog. vol. iii. p. 438.

the royal presence. But all was in vain. Henry was resolved to see the man, whose counsels appeared to promise him an extrication from his difficulties; and Cranmer was compelled to endure the honours of a conference with his Majesty. The King received him in the most gracious manner; he declared to him that he had long been suffering from a troubled conscience; and that he now, for the first time, perceived the fittest means for the satisfaction of his scruples He accordingly commanded the doctor to lay aside all other business, and (with a view to the furtherance of the cause, in conformity with his own suggestions) immediately to commit his thoughts upon the subject to writing. And, that he might be able to do this without interruption, he desired the Earl of Wiltshire to give him entertainment at his house in Durham-place, and to provide him with books, and every other convenience, requisite for the completion of his work.

Is commanded to put his opinion in writing.

It would be difficult to imagine a fitter asylum for a scholar and a divine, than the house of the nobleman to whose hospitality Cranmer was now consigned. The Earl of Wiltshire, it is true, was the father of Anne Boleyn: but he was also a man most honourably distinguished for his piety, intelligence, and learning. He was the friend and correspondent of Erasmus, who mentions him, not only as an accomplished peer, but as a person of quiet and unambitious habits; and above all suspicion of instigating the divorce[1]. In

[1] Ei, quem ὁ βασιλεὺς dicitur socerum adsciscere, dicâram Psalmum vigesimum secundum; idque, ante annos complures,

this family it was that Cranmer speedily accomplished the task assigned him by the King. The treatise there compiled by him, maintained that the marriage of Henry with the widow of his brother was condemned by the authority of the Scriptures, the Councils, and the Fathers; and it denied that the dispensing power of the Pope could give validity to a union expressly prohibited by the word of God. And when he was asked by the King whether he was prepared to maintain these positions before the Bishop of Rome him-

ut id facerem, ab ipso rogatus. Est enim vir, *ut uno ore prædicant omnes*, unus propè inter nobiles eruditus, animoque planè philosophico. Hoc officium meum grato amplexus animo, petiit ut aliquid ederem in symbolum quod dicitur Apostolorum. Feci quod voluit, eoque libentius, quod res ad omnium utilitatem facere videretur. Hic nullum verbum est, quò ad *τοῦ ἀποστασίου* causam attinet; *cujus tamen vir ille, ut accipio, nec auctor, nec instigator fuit, utpote quietis, quam opum aut honoris, amantior.* Erasmus Damiano à Goes. Ep. 1253, Op. tom. iii. col. 1472. Ed. Lugd. Batav. 1703.

Strype cites a letter of Erasmus to the earl himself, as epist. 34, lib. 29. But I have been unable to find it in the Leyden edition.

If the above account of Cranmer's introduction to the Earl of Wiltshire be correct, (and I see no reason whatever for calling it in question,) it will enable the reader to estimate the assertion, that "Cranmer was a *dependent* on the family of the King's mistress!" (Ling. Hist. Eng. vol. vii. p. 152 and 252.) The earl, undoubtedly, was the father of Anne, who, of course, is numbered, by the Papists, among the concubines of Henry. But there is not a particle of evidence, that I am aware of, to show that Cranmer had the slightest previous acquaintance with the family of that nobleman, or had ever once seen him, until the hour when the king commended him to the hospitality of Durham-place.

self, he answered that, by God's grace, he would so maintain them, if sent by his Majesty to
1529.
Rome. Upon which the King immediately declared that it certainly was his intention to despatch him thither.

From this time the intercourse between Henry and Cranmer was frequent. The readiness and ability with which he had executed the service required of him, had fully established him in the royal confidence; and it was, probably, soon after his introduction at court, that he was appointed to the Archdeaconry of Taunton, and also presented to a parochial benefice, the name of which is not known. No time was lost in giving the widest circulation to his opinions, with a view to the preparation of the public mind of Europe, and, more especially, that of the English Universities, for the meditated deliverance of the King from his embarrassment, and of the country from the unlimited supremacy of Rome. At the close of 1529, together

Is sent with the embassy to Rome.

with several other divines, he joined the embassy to the Papal Court, at the head of which was the Earl of Wiltshire. But no force of argument,—no art of diplomacy,—could straighten the crooked politics of the Vatican, or overcome the fears of the perplexed and wary Pontiff, haunted, as he perpetually was, with the terrors of the imperial wrath. The colleagues of Cranmer soon found themselves compelled to return to England in

1530.
despair; and in the July following,
28th July.
Cranmer himself, the only one of the embassy who was left behind, declared in a letter to

one of the agents of the King in Italy, that he found Clement intractable, and his Ecclesiastics reserved; and that he looked for nothing but an adverse decision from "the Pope, with all his Cardinals."

In the mean time, Henry was collecting his strength for the first blow against the Papal supremacy. Conformably to the suggestions of Cranmer, the great matrimonial case had been submitted to all the most celebrated Universities in Europe. With the greatest difficulty, an answer had been extorted from Oxford and Cambridge in favour of the divorce. The decisions of the Italian and French Universities, to the same effect, were somewhat more readily obtained. It has been suggested by the papal writers that the eyes of the learned canonists were *blinded by bribes* to the true merits of the question; an averment almost as dishonourable to their own Church as the foulest charges that have been levelled against her by her enemies. That Henry would be sparing in the distribution of money, wherever it might be found necessary, was not, indeed, to be expected from one of his character. It would seem, however, that he or his agents were much more scrupulous, or much more parsimonious, than his great antagonist the Emperor; for it was openly said at Ferrara that the gratuity of a few crowns was all that could be got by writing for the King; while the advocates of the Emperor and his aunt were rewarded with liberal pensions and ample benefices[1]. At

Opinions of the Universities.

[1] Burnet, vol. i. p. 90.

all events, it is not to be credited that gold should have been scattered by the King in sufficient profusion to purchase the suffrages of all the learned men who gave opinions in his favour. In Germany, where the influence of the Emperor was more predominant, the success of the appeal was much less satisfactory. The opinion of Erasmus was supposed to be favourable to the views of Henry; but, with his usual caution, he forbore to commit himself to any public or written avowal of his sentiments[1]. The reformers, in general, were ready enough to deny that the pope had power to dispense with any marriage contracted in direct opposition to the will of God; but, then, they could not entirely agree in the conclusion, that the marriage of Henry with the widow of his brother fell within this description. The Lutherans, indeed, —though they allowed the scriptural prohibition of such unions to be "a divine, natural, and moral law, and that such marriages ought not to be sanctioned or permitted in the churches,"—nevertheless, hesitated to pronounce that, when once contracted, they

[1] Erasmus was under obligations to the Emperor; and though he esteemed Henry, he was, throughout, very unwilling to be entangled in his cause. In the letter to Damianus à Goes above cited, he says, "Cæsari, principi meo, (cui juratus sum consiliarius, præclarè de me, studiisque meis, merito,) nisi me agnoscam omnia debere, aut vehementer stolidus sim, aut insigniter ingratus. Unde mihi igitur mens tam lœva, ut ultrò me tam invidioso negotio involverem? ad quod si fuissem rogatus, vel flagitatus, manibus pedibusque fuerim recusaturus." Erasmi Epist. 1753, Op. vol. iii. col. 1472, ed. Leyd.

were to be deemed absolute nullities, *ab initio*[1]. The distinction here implied, (between acts originally vicious and invalid, and acts which, though immoral and illegal, when once done cannot be recalled,) is, perhaps not wholly unknown to any system of law; though it may require the greatest delicacy in the application. The Lutherans were probably induced to apply it to the present case, by the consideration, that the Levitical prohibition, though a powerful preservative of domestic morality, has something more of the character of a mere positive institution, than the law which forbids the nuptial union between persons allied by the closest relation of blood. Even under the Jewish economy, of which this regulation formed a part, the prohibition was dispensed with in the case of a childless widow; and this might be thought sufficient to show, that the provision is not, in its own nature, absolutely, and under all possible circumstances, indispensable. And if, in a Christian country, any thing could be sufficient to give force to such a dispensation, it would surely be the full acquiescence of both parties, for so long a period as twenty years.

But, be this as it may, the King was now armed with the judgments of many of the most learned bodies in Christendom; at the head of which were men whose opinions might, plausibly enough, be supposed to represent the collective wisdom of the

[1] The judgments of the foreign Universities, and of the Lutheran divines, may be seen in Burnet, b. ii. Rec. No. 34, 35.

Church, when not assembled in a General Council. Henry was not slow to use the force which was thus placed at his disposal. He caused a memorial to the Pope to be prepared, and obtained for it the signature of Cardinal Wolsey, of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, with four bishops, upwards of forty noblemen, and eleven commoners. It represented that the justness of the King's cause was now fully ascertained by the decisions of learned men, and the Universities of England, France, and Italy,—complained of the incorrigible delays and fluctuations of the Pontiff,—and concluded by declaring, that further procrastination would convince them that they were abandoned by his Holiness, and would compel them to resort to other remedies[1]. The tone of Clement's reply to this unceremonious document was much more mild and paternal than might have been expected; and it concluded with an assurance that "he was desirous to examine the matter, and would do every thing that he could *without offending God.*" Had he said, "*without offending the Emperor,*" his words would have been much nearer to the truth; for it can scarcely be doubted that, by this time, he had finally resolved upon submission to that Potentate, and had abandoned all thoughts of being party to the degradation of a Princess of his house. This was probably felt by Henry and his court; for, without waiting for the answer of Cle-

13th July. 1530. Memorial to the Pope.

Sept. 1530.

[1] Burnet, vol. i. p. 95, 96.

ment, they put forth a proclamation, prohibiting, on pain of imprisonment, and other punishment, the purchase or publication of any instrument from Rome, which might be contrary to the prerogative and authority of the King [1].

All this while, Cranmer continued to reside at Rome, where he vainly solicited permission to maintain, by public disputation, the positions of his Treatise. The offer was uniformly but courteously evaded [2]. The Pontiff even condescended to something like an attempt at the propitiation of his adversary, by conferring on him the title of Supreme Penitentiary. The compliment was accepted by Cranmer, apparently without scruple or hesitation. The title was, in truth, so profitless and empty, that the rejection of it was needless for the establishment of his reputation for integrity; while, on the other hand, the refusal of it might have borne the construction of a churlish and wanton affront to the Apostolic See.

Cranmer offers to maintain his opinion by disputation at Rome.

The exact time of Cranmer's return to England is uncertain; but it was most probably towards the close of the year 1530. His conduct and exertions at Rome, however fruit-

Returns to England.

[1] This proclamation is dated the 19th September, 1530, the reply of Clement so soon after as the 27th of the same month.

[2] This is not very surprising; the Treatise itself being, as Fuller remarks, "a book as welcome to his Holiness as a prison, beholding his own power therein limited and confined." Ch. Hist. b. v. p. 182.

less, had given so much satisfaction to the King, that in January, 1531, he was appointed ambassador to the Emperor. Previously to his departure on that mission, he had been partly occupied in the examination of a book, addressed by Reginald Pole to the King, on the inexhaustible subject of the divorce. Of this volume he sent a tolerably copious account, in a letter to his friend the Earl of Wiltshire. who was then absent from the court. He prefaces his abstract with abundant commendations on the wit and eloquence of the composition; but adds, that the principal design of it is to "persuade the King to commit his great cause to the judgment of the Pope;"—professing himself, however, to be entirely dissatisfied with the reasons advanced by Pole for such injudicious counsel. He then proceeds to give an outline of the author's reasonings. The first topic relates to the merit of the cause, "as touching the law of God;" respecting which, Pole declares it to be his conviction, that the Scripture furnishes grounds no less substantial for a view of the matter opposite to the designs of the King, than for that which his Majesty had actually embraced. He further declares that, even if he thought that justice was undeniably on the side of the King, he would never be a party to a proceeding which, if successful, must convict Henry of having lived for twenty years in a state of abominable incest—unsettle and alienate the minds of the people —augment their growing hatred of the priesthood—

1531. January.

July.

His account of Pole's Book on the Divorce.

and bring learned men, nay, the very name of learning, into general contempt. The decision of the Universities he sets at nought; it being well known that those learned bodies were open to the influence of prejudice and partiality, and that, even with all the appliances which Henry could command, it was not without great difficulty that they could be brought over to his party: and if their authority should be insisted on, he was prepared to set against it "the authority of the King's father and his council,—the Queen's father and his council,—and the Pope and his council." He then proceeds to a variety of political considerations:—the formidable opposition of the Pope—the danger of general commotion—the power of the Emperor—the comparative insignificance of the French King—the perfidious inconstancy of the French people—and the certainty, that any reliance on them would only consign England as a prey to their nation and the Emperor. From all which he concludes, that the King had placed himself on the brink of an abyss, and that one step further must plunge him into destruction [1]. And here, in consequence of interruption, Cranmer breaks off his account of this performance; and he closes his letter to the Earl with the following intelligence: "The King and my Lady Anne rode yesterday together to Windsor, and this night they be looked for again at Hampton Court [2]:"—a sentence which, of itself,

[1] Strype's Cranmer, c. ii. App. No. 1.

[2] From which place the letter is dated.

would be sufficient to show that, at that time, Henry was effectually fortified against much more powerful reasons than the wit or eloquence of Pole could produce against him!

1531.
His second mission to the Continent.

The second mission of Cranmer to the Continent, like the former, was doubtless chiefly with a view to the object that was nearest to the King's heart. It gave him an opportunity of attending the Emperor's court, and of trying his power of argument upon the imperialists. There is reason to believe that, in some few instances, he was successful. In one he most certainly prevailed, though with disastrous effect upon the fortunes of his proselyte. The renowned Cornelius Agrippa, at that time one of the Emperor's council, declared himself satisfied that the marriage was a nullity; an avowal, for which his exasperated master threw him into prison. It was probably in the course of this mission that Cranmer personally consulted several of the most illustrious reforming divines. Erasmus, as we have already seen, declined any open declaration of his sentiments. Œcolampadius was in favour of the divorce; Bucer was opposed to it. The sentiments of Melancthon have not been clearly ascertained; but Luther openly proclaimed it to be his opinion, that the separation would be a greater enormity than the marriage: and such appears to have been the more prevalent impression throughout Protestant Germany. It was felt to be monstrous that the match should be called in question after such a lapse of years.

It was during his residence in Germany, that Cranmer became acquainted with the celebrated Osiander, then pastor of Nuremberg; an intimacy which soon furnished the ambassador with an opportunity of proclaiming himself almost, if not altogether, a Protestant, by his disregard of one of the most essential rules of the Romish discipline. He had now been long a widower: and, having formed an attachment to the niece of his friend, he was united to her early in the following year. By this step he virtually abjured the right either of Pope or Council to impose on the Clergy any obligation to celibacy; and asserted, that the liberty of Christian ministers, in this respect, had not been abridged by the law of God or the canons of the Primitive Church.

His second marriage.

His connexion with Osiander was, however, productive of little advantage to the cause of his royal master. The German divine, indeed, fully embraced the views of Cranmer on this subject, and actually composed a work on incestuous marriages, in which he maintained the justice of the divorce. But the book was speedily suppressed by the command of Charles, whose vigilance was sleepless with regard to that momentous question. The rest of Cranmer's time on the continent was occupied with various other matters of general diplomacy, of no weighty importance, and attended with no very decisive results. He was employed in negociations respecting the traffic between England and the Low Countries, and the contingent to be furnished by the

1532.

King towards the war against the Turk: he furnished Henry with various intelligence respecting the state of Continental affairs; and dispatched to him a copy of the Emperor's proclamation for a General Council. And, lastly, he went on a secret mission to the Elector Frederic, Duke of Saxony; in the course of which, he ventured to intimate, that not only his master, but the French King, were ready to assist the cause of the Protestant Confederates. This declaration has been considered as somewhat precipitate, since it tended to compromise the peace which then existed between the Emperor and England[1]. Whether he exceeded his instructions in this particular, is not known. But it is certain that his activity and zeal in the prosecution of the grand purpose for which he was dispatched, were abundantly sufficient to secure for him the continued confidence and approbation of his Sovereign. There can be little doubt that all the services of his Ambassador were considered by Henry as purely subordinate and subsidiary to that one overpowering interest.

[1] Strype's Cranmer, c. iii.

CHAPTER III.

1532, 1533.

The King resolves to raise Cranmer to the Primacy—Cranmer's reluctance to accept it—He consents to take it with a Protest against submission to the Pope—Is consecrated 30th March, 1533—Makes his protestation publicly—His conduct in this respect considered—The King secretly marries Anne Boleyn—The marriage not *performed by Cranmer—Cranmer pronounces the nullity of the King's marriage with Catherine—The marriage with Anne Boleyn repeated in public—Cranmer's notice of Frith's martyrdom—The King's determination to appeal to a General Council—The Papal sentence pronouncing the marriage with Anne Boleyn void—The abortive attempt of the French King to effect a reconciliation between Henry and the Pope.*

WHILE these negociations were in progress, nearly the whole of Protestant Germany was ringing with an outcry against the scandal of degrading an illustrious Princess, and exemplary woman, from the throne and the bed which she had occupied, without impeachment, for twenty years. But Henry was, now, too deeply committed to retreat in obedience to the most vehement expressions of public feeling or opinion. The disgrace and injury inflicted on the Queen—the generous sympathies of an indignant people—the prevalent suspicion that he was impelled by passion, 1532.

rather than by conscience, to the dissolution of his marriage—all seem to have been lost sight of, in the urgency of his impatience to be delivered from his yoke. The steadiness of his resolution was confirmed by his reliance on the character of his Ambassador. That Cranmer was profoundly sincere in his persuasion that the King's marriage with Catherine was incestuous, there is not the slightest reason to question. It is true, that the office which he was at this time discharging, relative the great matrimonial suit, was not of his own seeking. His appointment to it was the result of accidents beyond his control. But when once he was engaged in the cause, he devoted to it all the resources of his industry and learning. He was acting simply as the envoy and representative of his Sovereign, conformably to the almost immemorial custom which, for want of laymen sufficiently accomplished, had generally consigned the functions of diplomacy to canonists and churchmen. He was labouring to bring to a prosperous issue a question in which he conceived the peace and honour of the King to be deeply involved; a question, too, which, in its remoter influence, he considered as vitally important to the religion and the happiness of his country. His thoughts had long been fixed on the standard of reformation which had been reared on the Continent of Europe. Originally, indeed, his own mind had been awakened by the study of the Scriptures, and by the best models of secular literature. But every day he lived,—and, more especially, every hour he passed at Rome,—strengthened his conviction, that nothing

could do justice either to the moral grandeur of England, or to the cause of Scriptural truth, but an intrepid imitation of the German example. His exertions, therefore, in opposition to the supreme dispensing power of the Pope, were the efforts of a genuine Christian patriot, as well as the labours of a faithful servant in behalf of an earthly master.

An occasion speedily occurred which raised him to a station eventually still more favourable to his enlightened views. While he was on the Continent, the See of Canterbury was vacated by the death of Archbishop Warham. On this event, Cranmer was instantly summoned to return. Some intimation, however, appears to have reached him of the King's design to raise him to the Primacy. Anxious as he might be for the spiritual deliverance of his country, the sudden approach of so arduous a responsibility, staggered his resolution. His own habits had been studious and retired. His temper was so unambitious, that we have already seen him hazardously refusing the patronage of Wolsey, and anxious to escape an introduction to the King. By constitution he was diffident and cautious, perhaps even to timidity; while the unquiet aspect of the times threatened to make the Primacy a post of unexampled difficulty and peril. He had recently entered, for the second time, into the state of matrimony; an irregularity which might become a source of incessant and vexatious embarrassment to the first Ecclesiastic of this yet Popish kingdom.

The King resolves to raise Cranmer to the Primacy.

Cranmer's reluctance to accept it.

And lastly, the character of Henry must, even then, have sufficiently developed itself to satisfy him, that he would have to serve an arbitrary and "hard-ruled" master. These were considerations which might well deter even a firmer and more aspiring individual from the dangerous promotion which his Sovereign was now preparing to force upon him. He, accordingly, delayed his departure from Germany for several weeks, in the hope that the intention to elevate him might drop from the King's mind, in the interval, and that the choice might fall upon some other person; and four months elapsed, on the whole, before he could be prevailed on to accept the formidable preferment[1]. Even when he found that the purpose of Henry was

[1] The sincerity of his reluctance to accept the Primacy is thus solemnly averred by him, as with his dying breath, before the Papal commissioners at Oxford: "I protest before you all, never man came more unwillingly to a bishopric than I did to this; insomuch that when King Henry did send for me in post, that I should come over, I prolonged my journey full seven weeks at the least, thinking that he would be forgetful of me in the meantime."—Foxe, in Eccl. Biog. vol. iii. p. 546, 547. Again, in answer to the interrogatories of the same assembly, he affirms that—(feeling his inability for such promotion—being "very sorry to leave his study"—and being, moreover, strongly averse to the means by which the Primacy was to be obtained, viz. the oath to the Pope)—he represented to the King that certain important matters would require his presence in Germany for some time longer. And when on his return, he found the Archbishopric still reserved for him, he "made means, by divers of his friends, to shift it off, desiring rather some smaller living, that he might, more quietly, follow his book,". Ibid. p. 557, 558.

not to be shaken by his earnest entreaties to be exempt from the burden, he further manifested his reluctance by attempting to place another obstacle in the way of the King's design; an obstacle which he probably hoped would be quite insurmountable. He declared that he could receive the Archbishopric only from the King himself, as supreme governor of the Church of England (a character which had already been recognised by the Convocation), and not of the Pope, who, in his judgment, had no authority within the realm. This was an impediment which compelled Henry to pause. The difficulty, however, was referred to civilians of eminence, who submitted that the affair might be adjusted, without an open and final rupture with Rome, (for which Henry was not then prepared,) by the expedient of a solemn protest, to be made by the Archbishop on the day of his consecration. By this protest (it was suggested) he might declare that he did not hold himself bound by this oath to any thing against the law of God, the realm of England, or the prerogatives of the Sovereign; or restrained by it from taking part in the reformation of the Church of England.

He consents to take it, with a protest against submission to the Pope.

In this arrangement Cranmer, though most reluctantly, acquiesced. He lived in an age, when, to decline an office imposed by the Sovereign, was regarded as an act of almost treasonable contumacy. He had, nevertheless, already stood out, for four months, against the wishes of the King: and having now an opportunity offered him of declaring, in the

face of the world, the precise extent of obligation which he conceived to be imposed upon him by his oath to the Pope, he felt that it would be scarcely possible to resist any longer the importunity of his Sovereign. To the very last, however, he never ceased to manifest his conviction, that the customary Bulls, for his investment with the primacy, were altogether nugatory and worthless: and when it was proposed to him that a messenger should be dispatched to Rome for those instruments, and should take the usual oath in his name, he replied that, whoever did so, must take the responsibility *on his own soul*[1].

It does not appear that the application for the Bulls in question met with the slightest difficulty at Rome. And yet, the Pope must have known Cranmer well. Cranmer had already contended against the Papal power of dispensation, in the grand cause of the divorce. He had done this, first, openly at the Vatican. He had, subsequently, been carrying the same doctrine with him over Germany. He had further, by his own marriage[2], very intelligibly declared war

[1] *Super animam suam.* See his examination at Oxford. Foxe, in Eccles. Biogr. vol. iii. p. 559.

[2] It does not appear that any pains were taken by Cranmer to keep his marriage secret, while he was on the continent. It is true that he did not bring his wife to *England* with him, when he returned. But he sent for her in 1534, and kept her with him, though without publicly introducing her as his wife. And this he was allowed to do, without molestation, until 1539, when the Statute of the Six Articles compelled him to send her back to Germany. It must have been notorious in England that he had already been once married, in spite of his destination to the

against the discipline and policy of the Romish Church. So that, if his protest were to have been read in the ear of Clement himself, before he fixed his seal to the instruments demanded, it could have conveyed to him no new intelligence. The life and writings of Cranmer had, of themselves, been a virtual and notorious protest, to the same effect as his intended declaration at Westminster. It would, therefore, be idle to imagine that the Pope was entrapped into the admission of a *secret* enemy, to the primacy of England. When he sent the Bulls required, he must doubtless have been aware, that to refuse them would only have been to bring on a crisis, which would, inevitably, expose their insignificance.

When these documents arrived, and were delivered to Cranmer, he instantly deposited them in the hands of the King: as if to intimate, that these were instruments, which he himself did not consider as at all essential to the validity of his appointment, and which had been obtained purely in compliance with the Royal will and pleasure. The day fixed for his consecration was the 30th of March, more than seven months[1]

1533. He is consecrated on the 30th of March.

Church. And I am unable to perceive any ground for the imputation, that he concealed his second marriage with a view to facilitate his advancement to the primacy. It is, however, highly probable that his situation, as a married man, may have augmented his reluctance to accept that promotion. See Strype's Cranmer, c. iii.

[1] It has been discovered by some writers, that this interval was unusually short; and, that Cranmer was advanced to the See of

subsequently to the decease of Archbishop Warham. On that day, previously to his taking the oath to the Pope, he presented and read his protestation [1], to the effect above mentioned, in the presence of the Royal Prothonatory, of two Doctors of Law, of one of the Royal Chaplains, and of the Official Principal of the Court of Canterbury: and he required that the protestation should be formally recorded, and attested by the witnesses present. This was done, not in a "private room," but in the Chapter House at Westminster. At the steps of the altar in the Church, he again presented his protestation, declaring that he understood and took the oath according to the tenor of that protest; and required that a record should be made of this declaration, attested by the same witnesses as before. Lastly, when he was about to receive the pall, he once more proclaimed, at the altar, that he understood the oath under the limitations of the same instrument; and demanded, for the third time, that the proceeding might be solemnly attested and enrolled. It appears, therefore, that his paper was first

Makes his protestation publicly.

Canterbury, without having occupied any other See. And these circumstances have been distorted into a proof that he was hastily advanced, solely for the purpose of ministering to the designs of the King. The cavil is too frivolous to deserve more than a passing notice. There was, in fact, nothing either in the suddenness of Cranmer's advancement, or in the alleged shortness of the vacancy, but what was sanctioned by a variety of precedents; as may be seen in Todd's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 50, 51.

[1] See Append. No. 1.

read in the presence of official witnesses, in the place appropriated to the performance of all such public acts; that it was twice produced at the altar, in the presence of a crowded congregation; and that, at every stage of the proceeding, he insisted that his declaration should be invested with the solemnity of a public record[1].

[1] There can be no mistake in this statement. It is taken by Mr. Todd from the entry of these proceedings in the Lamb. MSS. 1136, which is printed in Appendix No. 2 of this volume.—And this is what has been called "the theological *legerdemain of a secret protest!*" Ling. Hist. vi. 281, and Vindic. 74.—If we are to talk of *secret protests*, and of *legerdemain*, let us consider the protest made by Archbishop Warham, the Popish predecessor of Cranmer. This Prelate had openly promoted the measures of Henry; and in order, as it would seem, to pacify his remorse for these compliances, he, too, made, what he was pleased to call, his *public* protestation; not, however, in the Chapter-House of a Cathedral—not before the High Altar—not on a day of great public solemnity—not in the presence of a crowded congregation—but "in a certain upper chamber of his mansion;" *(in quodam superiori cubiculo, infra manerium de Lambithe)*. By this *public* protest he declares, that he did not consent to any statute that had been passed, or might be passed, by the Parliament assembled in 1529, in derogation of the Roman Pontiff or the Apostolic See, or to the diminution or subversion of the rights of the Church of Canterbury. And, having thus provided a commodious retreat for his conscience, he consigns the documents to the secresy of his own register. See Wilk. Conc. vol. iii. p. 746, where the whole of this protest is printed.

This, surely, is *whispering to the reeds* with a vengeance! So complete was the secresy, that Burnet met with this paper by mere accident, and has inserted it in his third volume as a curious document. He conjectures, that it may have been suggested to Warham, by his Confessor, in his last sickness.

In order to form a righteous estimate of Cranmer's conduct on this celebrated occasion, it will be necessary that the reader should have before him the two oaths which, in those times, were imposed on all Bishops previously to their consecration. The first of these was their *oath to the Pope*: and its tenor is as follows:—

His conduct in this respect considered.

I, John, Bishop or Abbot of A. from this hour forward, shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, and to my Lord the Pope and his successors canonically entering. I shall not be of council nor consent, that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken, or suffer any violence or any wrong, by any means. Their counsel to me credited by them, their messengers or letters, I shall not willingly discover to any person. The Papacy of Rome, the rules of the Holy Fathers, and *the regality of St. Peter*, I shall help, and maintain, and defend, against all men. The Legate of the See Apostolick, going and coming, I shall honourably entreat. *The rights, honours, privileges, authorities, of the Church of Rome, and of the Pope and his Successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted. I shall not be, in council, treaty, or any act, in which any thing shall be imagined against him, or the Church of Rome, their rights, seats, honours, or powers.* And if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as soon as I can, I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the Holy Fathers, the

decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions, and commandments, Apostolic, to my power I shall keep, and cause to be kept of others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our Holy Father and his Successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power. I shall come to the Synod when I am called, except I be letted by a canonical impediment. The thresholds of the Apostles I shall visit yearly, personally, or by my deputy. I shall not alienate or sell my possessions, without the Pope's counsel. So God help me, and the Holy Evangelists[1].

The following is the oath of the Bishops to the King:

I, John, Bishop of A, utterly renounce, and clearly forsake, all such clauses, words, sentences, and grants, which I have, or shall have, hereafter of the Pope's Holiness, of and for the Bishopric of A, that in anywise hath been, is, or hereafter may be hurtful or prejudicial to your Highness, your heirs, dignity, privilege, or estate Royal. And also I do swear, that I shall be faithful and true, and faith and truth I shall bear to you, my Sovereign Lord, and to your heirs, Kings of the same, of life and limb, and yearly worship, above all creatures, for to live and die for you and yours, against all people. And diligently I shall be attendant to all your needs and business, after my wit and power, and your counsel I shall keep and hold, *knowledging myself to hold my bishopric of you only*, beseeching you of restitution of the temporalities of the same,

[1] This, and the following oath, are printed in Burnet, vol. i. p. 123, 124.

promising, as before, that I shall be a faithful, true, and obedient subject to your said Highness, heirs, and successors, during my life, and the services and other things due to your Highness for the restitution of the temporalities of the said Bishopric, I shall truly do, and obediently perform. So God help me, and all saints.

These, be it recollected, were the oaths uniformly exacted of every Bishop, before his consecration. They had been taken by Warham, by Gardiner[1], and by others who, nevertheless,

[1] Stephen Gardiner, it is well known, was the most obsequious counsellor, the most indefatigable agent, the most clamorous advocate of Henry, throughout the whole matter of the divorce. He almost bullied the Pope to his face; and told him, and his assembled Cardinals, that, if they drove the King to extremities, his Majesty would be able to do without them. (Strype. Eccl. Mem. vol. i. p. 153, Oxf. ed.) Moreover, in defiance of his oath to the Pope, he actually wrote a Latin book in support of the King's supremacy. He entitled it *De Verâ Obedientiâ*, and the second edition of it was honoured with a preface by the notorious Edmund Boner. The English reader, who is desirous of consulting this work of Gardiner's, with the preface of Boner, may see a translation of it in a volume of tracts in the Libr. of Trin. Coll. Camb. V. 13a. 17. He will find that it contains a sweeping vindication of divine right and unlimited obedience,—a long and argumentative attack on the Papal authority,—and a most elaborate defence of his violation of the oath to the Pope, on the ground that no unlawful engagements can be binding, however solemnly incurred. This principle he afterwards found eminently convenient; for when accused of perjury for breaking his oath of supremacy to the *King*, he replied that it was *Herod's oath*, and that the Pope had absolved him from the obligation! In the matter of *swearing*, therefore, this man *out-*

were active in the establishment of the royal supremacy. These were the same oaths, of which Henry had recently complained to his Parliament, as so contradictory to each other, that all the prelates, who *should* be wholly his subjects, were, in truth, but half subjects; or, were the Pope's subjects rather than his. These are the oaths which had been taken, immemorially, without protest or explanation of any kind; and the words of which, as Bossuet is compelled virtually to allow[1], must always have been understood with a secret reservation, in favour of the rights of the King, and the interests of the State. The distinction, therefore, between Cranmer's conduct, and that of many other of Henry's dignitaries and prelates, is evidently this: they, in spite of their oaths to the Pope, supported innovations mortally hostile

heroded Herod himself. In the matter of *unswearing*, he anticipated the most glorious exploits of the Jesuitical casuistry. And yet the Romanists—who exulted over the supposed obliquity of Cranmer—could speak, by the mouth of a Jesuit, in the following terms, of Gardiner's double-hatched perjury:—"Truly, he was borne away with the stream of the time, and with some fear of the King's proceedings, and was not fully instructed in the question of the supremacy, and was shaken with human frailty, and *shrunk with St. Peter*, and *stepped somewhat aside*, in that book, *De Verâ Obedientiâ*: but yet, *how soon* did he recal himself again," &c. &c. &c. Parsons, Wardword to Sir F. Hasting's Watchword, p. 45, ed. 1599; which may be found at the end of the Vol. G. 8. 24 Lib. Trin. Coll. Cambridge.—The above translation of the Treatise, *De Verâ Obed.* was, very seasonably, published in 1553, when Gardiner had returned to his *first love*, and had discovered the *Herodian* enormity of his oath to the King.

[1] Hist. Var. c. vii.

to his authority: while Cranmer refused to shelter himself under any *secret* reservation; and declared, distinctly, openly, and solemnly, at his consecration, the exact sense in which he understood the customary engagement to the Bishop of Rome. By this proceeding, he placed his own rectitude in honourable contrast with the servile duplicity of his brethren. And the utmost that can possibly be said to his disparagement, is, that he *might* have followed a still *more excellent way*, by declaring to the King his inflexible resolution to reject the Primacy, if the Bishop of Rome was to have any concern in his investment with it.

The King, at this period, was in a strangely ambiguous position. No sentence had yet been pronounced by any tribunal, declaring his marriage with Catherine a nullity; and yet he had been secretly united to the present object of his passion. His nuptials with Anne Bolcyn took place on St. Paul's day, the 25th January in this year. But so far is it from the truth, that they were celebrated by Cranmer,—that (as appears by a letter of his to his friend Archdeacon Hawkins[1]) he was

The King secretly marries Anne Boleyn, Jan. 25; but the marriage not performed by Cranmer.

[1] From this letter it appears that a multitude of slanders were then in circulation respecting the Archbishop. His words are—"It hath been reported, throughout a great part of the realm, that I married her: which was plainly false. *For I myself knew not thereof a fortnight after it was done.* And many other things be reported of me which be mere lies and tales," Ellis's Orig. Lett. vol. ii. p. 39, first series.

totally ignorant of the fact, till a fortnight after it had taken place. This state of things greatly aggravated the scandal occasioned by the process against the former Queen. It exhibited the Monarch of England to his people in the anomalous condition of a husband with two wives, of whom no mortal could confidently say which was the rightful consort: and what was infinitely more serious, it oppressed the mind of thoughtful persons with a deep apprehension of the troubles incident to a disputed succession. The inconvenience and mischief arising from this most unseemly predicament, were, accordingly, represented to Henry by Cranmer, in a letter dated the 1st of April, in this year. In this address, after dwelling on the alarms of "the rude and ignorant common people," and "the obloquy and bruit, which daily did spring and increase of the Clergy of the realm,"—the Primate, as his Majesty's "humble orator and beadsman," beseeches that such remedy may be provided as shall be thought "convenient in that behalf;" and begs that "he may be ascertained of the King's pleasure in the same, to the intent that he, the Primate, may discharge his office and duty, as the superior judge in *causes spiritual*[1]." To this

[1] This letter is given at length in Todd's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 75—77, from Cranmer's autograph, in the State Paper Office. Mr. Turner thinks it probable that there must have been a private divorce, previous to the marriage with Anne. But, even if this were so, a secret and unknown proceeding could do nothing to quiet the agitation of the public mind. Turner, Henry VIII. 562, note 88.

letter, as might be expected, a most gracious, though, withal, a somewhat lordly answer, was returned by the Sovereign. In this rescript,—after a verbose and pompous recital of the mischiefs stated by the Archbishop, and a protest against the authority of any earthly creature above his own,—his Majesty accedes to the humble request of his orator as principal minister of spiritual jurisdiction within the realm; and enjoins him, accordingly, to make an end of the great cause which had so long burdened his royal conscience: not doubting that the judge would have nothing before his eyes but God and the justice of the cause; and declaring that the thing he himself most coveted in the world, was to proceed conformably to the will of God and the welfare of the realm[1]. This was the language of Henry, who, at that very time, was actually married to Anne Boleyn, and who no more expected any opposition, at home, than he expected the skies to fall upon his head!

Early in the same month (of April), the Convocation gave their solemn determination in favour of the King. Nothing, therefore, now remained, but to proceed according to the royal instructions. Catherine had been urged in vain to recede from her pretensions, and she persevered to the last in the same dignified resolution. The process was finally removed to Dunstable, a place in the neighbourhood of

[1] The whole letter is in Collier, vol. ii. Rec. No. 24, p. 15, ed. 1714.

Ampthill, where she then resided. She declined appearing before the Archbishop and Commissioners, and was declared contumacious. Her marriage with Henry was then pronounced by Cranmer to have been contrary to the law of God, and, from the beginning, utterly invalid[1]; and this sentence, which was given on the 23rd of May, was communicated by him to his master on the same day. From that moment, the chain which bound England to the chariot wheels of the Papacy, was, virtually, snapped asunder.

Cranmer pronounces the nullity of the King's marriage with Catherine.

The storm of obloquy which burst upon the head of the Archbishop, at this crisis, may easily be imagined. His memory, however, can sustain but little injury from the complaints and perversions of the Romanists. At all events, it will be remembered by Protestants, that, respecting the nullity of the former marriage, he could appeal to the opinion of the whole bench of Bishops, with the exception of Fisher,—to that of the most celebrated Universities in Europe,—to the sentence of the English Convocation,—and to his own uniform and consistent judgment. And, if so, it is not easy to comprehend upon what ground he could hesitate to pronounce, in his judicial capacity, the sentence of divorce. An open and solemn decision was rendered absolutely requisite by the agitation of the British people, who, until then, remained uncertain whither to look for the lawful Con-

[1] Burnet, vol. i. Rec. No. 47.

sort of their Sovereign. If the first marriage were really void from the beginning, and, in the eye of the law, no better than a state of incestuous concubinage, it was highly fit that this should be certified to the whole kingdom by the voice of a competent tribunal[1].

12th April. The marriage with Anne Boleyn repeated in public.

On the 12th of April, the King had openly repeated the solemnity of his marriage with Anne Boleyn, which had been privately celebrated in January. On the 28th of May, Cranmer confirmed this union by a judicial sentence, pronounced at Lambeth: and on the 29th, the fortunes of Anne were brought to their summit, by the commencement of the gorgeous ceremonial which ended in her coronation. It was on Whit-Sunday, the first of June,

[1] The competency of this tribunal, is, of course, disputed by the adherents of the Papacy, who accordingly maintain, to this day, that Elizabeth was illegitimate, and consequently, an usurper. This is a question, the discussion of which would be foreign to our present purpose. It manifestly involves the whole dispute respecting the Papal supremacy. It may, however, be worth while to remark, that the power exercised by Cranmer, on this occasion, had been also exercised, in the tenth century, by an English Archbishop, who, without any reference to the sanction of the Pope, pronounced a sentence of divorce, or nullity of marriage. This appears from the MS. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Tib. b. iv. quoted by Mr. Turner, Hist. Anglo-Sax. b. vi. c. 9. Its language is—"Thyssum geare Oda, Arcebiscop, totwainide Edwi Cynig, and Aelgyfe, for thæm the hi wæren to gesybbe." That is, "This year Odo, Archbishop, divorced (or separated) King Edwy and Elgiva, because they were too near of kin."

that she was crowned Queen of England. And, that no security might be wanting to her greatness, an Act of Parliament was passed, in the course of the next year, declaring the marriage firm and good, and the issue of it lawful.

Of the pomp and splendour of the coronation, we have an account from the pen of Cranmer himself, who takes the trouble of describing it to his friend Hawkins. The letter which contains this description, is, however, chiefly remarkable for the language in which it adverts to one of those melancholy instances of butchery, which too often render the history of religion so oppressive and revolting. The Archbishop, it will be recollected, was at this time no Sacramentarian. Though at mortal strife with Rome on the subject of ecclesiastical power, he was in full accordance with her on the doctrine which formed her palmary triumph over the reason and the senses of man. He bowed, with entire submission, to the mystery of Transubstantiation. And when the unhappy Frith was under inquisition for his opinions respecting this mystery, Cranmer, as he himself informs us, sent repeatedly for the heretic, and endeavoured to turn him from his erroneous imaginations. All, however, was in vain: "and now," continues Cranmer, "he is at a final end with all examinations; for my Lord of London hath given sentence, and delivered him to the secular powers, where *he looketh every day to go unto the fire.* And there is likewise condemned with him, one Andrew, a tailor of Lon-

Cranmer's notice of Frith's martyrdom.

don, for the said self-same opinion[1]." Sentences like these are melancholy indications of the success with which the Romish discipline had so long been warring against the commonest feelings of humanity. Two men are about to be consigned to a death of hideous torment, for a conscientious adherence to their own views of the truth; and the first minister of Christianity in the kingdom announces it to his friend, in a few brief cold words, as if he were communicating an article of trivial and passing intelligence! It would, of course, be most iniquitous to dwell on this circumstance, as a proof that Cranmer's nature was other than charitable and humane: for where shall we look for a public man of that period, whose feelings would "rouse and stir" at the thought of such atrocities? It should rather be regarded as a frightful symptom of the spirit of that age. The whole mind of Christian Europe had been so long possessed by the Demon of Persecution, that the agonies of a heretic could scarcely ruffle the surface of human sensibility.

It will readily be conceived, that the definitive sentence of divorce pronounced in England, followed up, as it was, by the public nuptials and coronation of the new Queen, must have produced a clamorous burst of indignation at Rome. The displeasure of the Pontiff and his Cardinals was deeply aggravated by another measure of the King's, which seemed to cut off all hope of accommodation. In despair of obtaining

[1] Ellis, Orig. Letters, vol. ii. p. 40, First Series.

justice from the Pope, he had formed the resolution to appeal from his authority to that of a general Council: and, in conformity with this determination, the instrument of appeal was actually drawn up, and, by his direction, presented by Bonner in person to his Holiness, then resident at Marseilles[1]. This affront was embittered by a similar appeal from the Archbishop of Canterbury, drawn up by him at the commandment of his Majesty, and (as the document expresses it) by way of protection against any prejudicial process which might "be intended against him or his Church[2]." Upon these audacious symptoms of rebellion, the Cardinals of the imperial faction were loud in their demand, that the arm of Pontifical authority should be put forth; and that the heretical Monarch should instantly be smitten down by the thunders of the Vatican. The more prudent members of the Conclave, however, saw that it would be unwise to throw away a dependency like England in a fit of angry disappointment: and, in conformity with their moderate counsels, the Papal Court was contented, for the time, with a solemn sentence, pronouncing that the whole proceedings in this country, relative to the divorce, were, from the beginning to the end of them, utterly ineffectual and void;

The King's determination to appeal to a general Council.

The Papal sentence, pronouncing the marriage with A. Boleyn void.

[1] A very full account of this interview, as given by Bonner himself, is in Burnet, vol. iii. b. 2, Rec. No. 23. It is dated Nov. 13, 1533.

[2] Ib. Rec. No. 24; dated Nov. 22, 1533.

and that the very attempt to bring the matter to a conclusion, without the concurrence of the Pope, had rightfully exposed the King to the penalty of excommunication. It was further declared, that this penalty would actually be inflicted, unless all those presumptuous acts were publicly revoked and renounced, and things restored to their original condition, before the ensuing month of September.

This measure, though far short of the last extremity, was not very well adapted to the purpose of conciliating any man, in the peculiar predicament of the English King—committed as he was, well nigh to the very lips, by his own recent acts, and by those of his Convocation and Spiritual Judicature. Still less was it fitted to win back to his allegiance a Sovereign of such elevated rank among the Potentates of Europe, and so distinguished by the imperious loftiness of his spirit. Nevertheless, there appeared to be yet one more chance of accommodation.

The abortive attempt of the French King to effect a reconciliation between Henry and the Pope.

The French King was at that time in cordial amity with England, and personally on a good understanding with the Pope, and he was resolved to manifest his regard for Henry by his friendly offices, as a mediator between the King of England and the exasperated Pontiff. With this view he employed Bellay, Bishop of Paris, a Churchman of singular talent and address, to soften the displeasure of the King, and to prevail on him to submit his cause to the decision of the Romish Consistory: in other words, firmly to re-establish the

Pope in his tottering supremacy over England. On the other hand, he obtained from Clement a declaration, that, if Henry would dispatch his proxy to Rome, he might assuredly expect a determination in his favour. The zeal of Francis, seconded by the dexterity of Bellay, was, to all appearance, successful. A courier was sent by Henry, with the formal submission recommended by the Bishop; and every thing seemed to threaten the realm of England with a continuance of its ancient ecclesiastical servitude.

These appearances of vacillation must have been observed by Cranmer with intense anxiety. It seemed as if the splendid vision which had, hitherto, animated his exertions, was about to dissolve and vanish, at the very moment when his arms were stretched forth to embrace it. His terrors were happily dissipated by one of those accidents which a grateful and religious mind is strongly disposed to invest with the character of a providential interference.

When the day was come, which was appointed for the arrival of the despatch announcing the submission of the King, no courier from England appeared. On this, the imperial Cardinals immediately renewed their clamours for a definitive sentence. It was in vain that Bellay (who was then at Rome to forward the business) protested against this precipitation. It was in vain that he insisted on the probability that the delay of the express was accidental, and that the elements might be in fault, and not the King of England. These prudent suggestions were overborne by the imperial influence, which still retained its predo-

minance in the Romish counsels. The Pope was easily persuaded that the procrastination was nothing more than an expedient for enabling Henry to proceed at leisure in his course of aggression against the Apostolic See. The question was accordingly brought before the Consistory,—a plurality of voices decided that the marriage with Catharine was good and valid, —contrary to the usual practice, the decision was concluded and confirmed in a single day,—and on the 23d March, 1534, it was resolved that sentence of excommunication should go forth against the King, unless he consented to take back the consort, whom he had presumed to put away. Two days afterwards, the messenger from England (who had been detained by contrary winds) arrived at Rome, with Henry's submission under his own hand, together with earnest entreaties from the French King, that it might be favourably received!

The Pontiff and his Cardinals stood aghast at the apparition of the English Courier; and he, and his more prudent counsellors, would doubtless have gladly retraced the step which brought them into deadly conflict with the schismatical Monarch. But it was now too late. The Imperialists steadily opposed the revocation of the sentence. The decision was once more confirmed by the Pontiff and his Consistory; and the rupture with England became manifestly irreparable.

It may be remarked here, by way of anticipation, that the 23d of March, 1534, the day on which the sentence was pronounced at Rome, was also the very

day on which the Act for the succession to the crown was passed in England; and that the Parliament, which completed the great ecclesiastical revolution, was prorogued, before it was possible that intelligence should arrive from Rome[1]. From this it would appear that Henry was an antagonist who thought that negociation and hostility might well proceed hand in hand together. How he could have extricated himself from his embarrassment, had the intercession of Francis terminated successfully, it is not an easy matter to conjecture. In his own dominions, the Pontifical authority was well nigh in ruins, even before the issue of the negociation could possibly be known: and it seems scarcely credible that the Parliament would, in any event, have consented to undo, in a moment, the work which, through good report and evil report, they had been carrying on for the last two or three years together[2]. If the King was conscious that the measures then actually in progress[3] were irrevocable, he can hardly be acquitted of duplicity, either in appealing to a General Council, or in accepting the mediation of the King of France. But it is by no means unlikely that he relied, throughout, on the resources of his own arbitrary character, and of his almost unlimited power, for the means of trampling down all difficulties which might, from time to time, spring up in his path. He probably saw but little hope of any cordial or permanent union with

[1] Burnet, vol. i. p. 133—136; and vol. iii. p. 82—92.
[2] Burnet, vol. iii. p. 92. [3] See the following chapter.

the Court of Rome, and therefore declined to suspend his adverse operations. If, however, the event should turn out to be different from his anticipations, he felt that he had a ponderous prerogative, and a light obsequious Legislature; and, with the help of these, he possibly trusted that the kingdom might, at any moment, be brought back to that state of ecclesiastical dependence, which he had so long been teaching them to renounce and to forget.

CHAPTER IV.

1533—1535.

Difficulties of Cranmer's situation—Spirit of dissension among the Clergy—The Nun of Kent—Cranmer's account of her—Birth of the Princess Elizabeth—Various statutes against the Pope—Acquiescence of the Clergy—Assent of the Convocation, and subscription of the Chapters and Universities—Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More—Cranmer's interference in their behalf—The Ecclesiastical Supremacy conferred upon the King—The Clergy ordered to publish and inculcate the King's Supremacy—Cranmer's letter to the King respecting it—Expectations of a General Council—Cranmer's discussions of this subject—The "King's Primer."

Difficulties of Cranmer's situation.

WHEN Cranmer was advanced to the Primacy of England, and had time to survey the variety and extent of his responsibilities, the prospect must have been sufficient to appal him, and to show that, so far as his own personal ease was concerned, he did well to deprecate the preferment. For several years past, the mind of England had been in a state of incessant commotion. Questions had been freely agitated, the discussion of which was sure to send a feeling of restlessness and impatience throughout the whole mass of the community. A force had been incessantly at work, gradually to loosen the connexion

which bound the whole frame of society to the fabric of the Romish Church, with a cement which had been hardened by the lapse of ages. Things which, for many a century, had been deemed, by multitudes, immutable as the laws of nature, were now found to contain within themselves the elements of change. The supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, more especially, had, till then, been very generally regarded as a fundamental principle of revealed religion. Yet this was precisely the principle against which the first violence of the spirit now abroad was vehemently directed: and, what was still more astounding, the assault against it was either directed or assisted by men, who had pledged themselves to its maintenance by the most solemn sanctions which religion can impose. All this cannot have happened without a perilous convulsion of the public mind. It may be said, without the smallest exaggeration, that no disturbance in the order of the physical world could have produced, in many a heart, much more confusion and dismay, than that which was occasioned by this rupture of immemorial prejudices and associations. The fountains of the great deep were breaking up before their eyes, and the summits of ancient institutions seemed in danger of disappearing beneath the deluge.

An Archbishop of Canterbury might well regard with some consternation the elemental war before him. The winds of discord were, even then, beginning to rush from their confinement; and their roar might have appalled the bravest heart. Humanly

speaking, Cranmer might soon have been lost in the tempest, if a more lordly spirit than his own had not controlled its fury. It was fortunate, perhaps, for the cause of this great mental revolution, that his master was one who, according to Wolsey's description of him, would rather lose half his kingdom than miss the accomplishment of his will,—one whom nothing could appal, save the destruction of the pillars that kept the firmament from falling. And yet this very attribute of Henry was, itself, another source of difficulty and danger, to those who were doomed to act in the same sphere with him. The increasing distraction of the times was bringing a change over his spirit. Six years of vexatious delay and treacherous chicanery, (soon followed up, as we have seen, by an act of insult and defiance), gradually brought out the more formidable qualities of his nature. The frank, joyous, and convivial prince, was beginning to degenerate into the stern and inflexible Sovereign; and to verify the saying, that he spared no man in his wrath, and no woman in his jealousy or his lust. This was the master whom Cranmer was to serve. This was the power, under whose auspices he was to work out the deliverance and restoration of the English Church. He was doomed to stand by, while the cradle of our spiritual independence was rocked by the hand of impetuous and capricious despotism.

One of the first measures which Cranmer had found it necessary to adopt, was the publication of certain restraints on the licentious abuse of the pul-

pit. His diocese, from its geographical position, was favourable to the introduction of the reformed opinions from the continent: and the conflict between the new and the ancient learning, was there, proportionably violent. The spirit of dissension was active among his clergy. Their pulpits were often the watch-towers of a fierce controversial warfare. The injuries of the *incomparable* Catharine, and the elevation of a youthful upstart in her place, were themes far too tempting for the advocates of the Papal supremacy to resist: and the violence with which these subjects were publicly discussed by the clergy, speedily communicated itself to their still more unlettered and ignorant hearers. The consequence was, that the new Queen was becoming the object of such coarse and vulgar raillery [1], that it became expedient to put some restraint upon this most unseemly *liberty of prophesying*.

Spirit of dissension among the Clergy.

The general discontent, however, did not confine itself to invective. It took the shape of treasonable conspiracy and imposture: and the diocese of Cranmer was the scene of the disgraceful exhibition. No incident in English history is better known than the story of Elizabeth Barton, the nun of Kent. This wretched *Pythoness*—the *Sœur Nativité* of her day [2]—was a native of Aldrington, in Kent. Her epileptic

The nun of Kent.

[1] Specimens of this may be seen in Ellis's Origin. Letters, vol. ii. 42, &c. First Series.

[2] As she has been very justly termed by Mr. Turner. Henry VIII. p. 584.

affections were exalted by her accomplices into mystic trances. She was skilfully trained by them, to utter treason in the shape of prophecy: and her mission was accredited by a "letter written in heaven," and delivered to her by the hand of Mary Magdalene! Abel, the ecclesiastical agent of Queen Catharine, degraded himself by joining in this vile confederacy; and it is melancholy to find that such men as Warham, Fisher, and, for a time, Sir Thomas More, were dupes of the delusion. For no less than eight or nine years together had this miserable woman, and her priestly confederates, continued to assail the proceedings and character of the King; till, at length, she ventured to proclaim that he should die a villain's death, and to fix on the day on which he should cease to reign. It was not till the extensive patronage of the Papal clergy had begun to make the fraud formidably dangerous, that the original contrivers of it were sent to expiate their offences at Tyburn.

The activity of Cranmer, in assisting to detect this cheat, was among the earliest services rendered by him to the cause of good order and religion. His own account of the fraud is still extant in a letter to Archdeacon Hawkins, dated December 20, 1533: and, in one respect, it is eminently curious, since it serves to show that, like the impostors of the remotest times, the holy maid of Kent was partly indebted for her success to the faculty of ventriloquism. After informing his correspondent of the great miracle wrought upon her, eight years before, "by the power of God,

Cranmer's account of her.

and our Lady of Curtup-street[1], and of the pilgrimage established in consequence of it," he adds—"When she was brought thither, and laid before the image of our lady, her face was wonderfully disfigured, her tongue hanging out, and her eyes being, in a manner, plucked out and laid upon her cheeks; and so, greatly disordered. *Then was there a voice heard speaking in her belly, as it had been in a tun, her lips not greatly moving;* she all that while continuing, by the space of three hours or more, in a trance. The which voice, when it told any thing of the joys of heaven, it spake so sweetly and so heavenly, that every man was ravished with the hearing thereof. And contrary, when it told any thing of hell, it spake so horribly and terribly, that it put the hearers in great fear. It spake, also, many things for the confirmation of pilgrimages, and trentals, hearing of masses, and confessions, and many such other things. And after she had lain there a long time, she came to herself again, and was perfectly whole. And so this miracle was finished, and solemnly sung, and a book written of all the whole story thereof, and put into print; which, ever since that time, hath been commonly sold, and gone abroad among all people." In a subsequent passage of his letter, the Archbishop continues thus: "Surely, I think she did marvellously stop the going forward of the King's marriage, by reason of her visions, which, she said, were of God; persuading them that came to see her, how highly

[1] Or, Court-at-Street, in the parish of Aldrington.

God was displeased therewith, and what vengeance Almighty God would take on all the favourers thereof: insomuch that she wrote letters to the Pope, calling upon him in God's behalf to stop and let the said marriage, and to use his high and heavenly power therein, as he would avoid the great stroke of God, which then hanged over his head if he did the contrary. She also had communicated with my Lord Cardinal, and with my Lord of Canterbury, in the matter. And, in mine opinion, with her feigned visions, and godly threatenings, she staid them very much in the matter."—"Now, about midsummer last, I, hearing of these matters, sent for this holy maid, to examine her: and, from me, she was had to Mr. Cromwell, to be further examined there. And now she confessed all, and uttered the very truth, which is this: That she never had a vision in all her life, but all that she ever said was feigned of her own imagination only, to satisfy the minds of them that resorted unto her, and to obtain worldly praise. By reason of which her confessions, many and divers, both religious men and others, be now in trouble, forasmuch as they consented to her mischievous and feigned visions, which contained much perilous sedition and also treason." He concludes this letter with the interesting intelligence, that the Queen was delivered of a Princess on the 13th or 14th of September[1], and that he himself had the honour of being her godfather.

Birth of Elizabeth. Sept. 1533.

[1] This is a mistake. Elizabeth was born a week earlier, on the 7th September. The whole of this letter of Cranmer's has

For some time past, Henry had been precisely in that situation which had been described by Pole. He was on the brink of a gulf; and the very next step might be into destruction. It was a fearful thing to lead the forlorn hope of the English battle against that which was deemed the sacred fortress of Christian unity, and which, for so many centuries, had looked awfully and imperiously over Europe. He knew not whether the evil spirit of social anarchy would not go forth together with the spirit of religious independence. And yet, on the other hand, when we remember his impetuous temperament, it will appear truly wonderful that these misgivings should have held him so long upon the margin of the Rubicon before his feet. The time for compromise or hesitation, however, was now pretty well gone by. In the course of the present and preceding year, and even while the last abortive attempt at accommodation was yet pending, a series of statutes had been passed, which were as notes of preparation for the final assault.

Various statutes against the Pope.

By the first of these was prohibited the payment of *annates*, or the first year's income of every vacant Bishopric, a fund appropriated to the support of the Cardinals[1]. By another of them, appeals to Rome in all causes testamentary, matrimonial, or ecclesiastical, were forbidden under the penalties of a *Præmunire*[2]. By a third, the clergy

been printed by Mr. Todd, in his Life of Cranmer, vol. i. p. 89—95, from the Harleian MSS. No. 6148, and Lansdowne MSS. Brit. Mus. No. 1045, fol. 71.

[1] 23d Henry VIII. c. 20. [2] 24th Henry VIII. c. 12.

were disabled from enacting, publishing, or executing, any canons or constitutions, without the assent and licence of the King[1]. By these steps the nation had been gradually prepared for a more open and effective assertion of his title, as protector and supreme head of the English Church; a title which, until that age, it would have been thought impious to ascribe to any secular Potentate on earth. This was the state of things, when the appeal of Henry to a General Council was disregarded by Clement. It was then felt by the King and his advisers, that not a moment was to be lost. The censures of the Vatican must be intercepted, not merely by uncertain and hollow negociations with the Pope, but by an act of memorable resolution at home. The Parliament was accordingly assembled on the 15th of January, 1534; and by the 30th of March, in the same year, there was an end of the Papal dominion in the realm of England.

1534.

The first of the statutes, by which this momentous change was completed, abolishes the interference of the Apostolic See in the confirmation of Bishops, and substitutes for this ancient practice, a purely domestic election and consecration[2]. The next of them, after complaining of the intolerable exactions and usurpations of the *Bishop of Rome, called the Pope*, and affirming the supreme authority of the King and the Legislature within the realm, abolishes for ever all pecuniary contributions to the See of

[1] 25th Henry VIII. c. 19. [2] 25th Henry VIII. c. 20.

Rome, and transfers the power of licence and dispensation to the Archbishop of Canterbury; subject, however, in cases unprecedented, to the sanction of the King, or his Council[1]. Lastly, the succession of the Crown was provided for by an Act, confirming those proceedings of the Archbishop, by which the marriage with Catharine had been pronounced to be a nullity, and the marriage of Anne to be valid and effectual. This statute contained one clause of great severity. It provided, that "all persons who, by writing, print, deed, or act, should do, or procure to be done, any thing to the prejudice, slander, disturbance, or derogation of the lawful matrimony solemnized between the King and Queen Anne, or to the peril, slander, or dishonour, of the King's issue, limited by this Act to inherit the Crown, shall be adjudged high traitors; and every such offence shall be adjudged *high treason*." All persons publishing words, *without writing*, to the above effect, or refusing to swear to the order of succession thus appointed, were to be adjudged guilty of *misprision of treason*[2]. To these statutes may be added an act passed in the same session, for mitigating, in some degree, the intolerable severities of the Ecclesiastical Courts against persons suspected of heresy. The sanguinary Statute of Henry IV. authorized the Bishops to commit any man to prison, on suspicion of heretical opinions: and yet the crime of heresy was left wholly undefined. A sort of negative defi-

[1] 25 Henry VIII. c. 21. [2] 25 Henry VIII. c. 22.

nition was now given to it, by the enactment, that no words in derogation of the Pope, or of the Canons made by the authority of the See of Rome, should be deemed heretical. And it was further provided, that persons accused of heresy should be proceeded against by way of indictment, and should moreover be admitted to bail, unless the Ordinary should satisfy the King in Council, that there was reasonable cause to the contrary. The same hateful mode of punishment as before, was, however, still left in force against those who should be convicted[1].

Acquiescence of the Clergy.

By these acts of the Legislature one of the most important revolutions in the history of nations was substantially achieved; and all who have related it have been struck, not only with the acquiescence of a large portion of the Clergy, but with their active co-operation in such measures. The establishment of a secular supremacy was to the Anglo-Romish Church, what the introduction of the fatal engine into the heart of Troy, was to the empire of Priam[2]. And yet there seems to have been

[1] 25 Henry VIII. c. 14.

[2] Dividimus muros et mœnia pandimus urbis.
Accingunt omnes operi, pedibusque rotarum
Subjiciunt lapsus, et stuppea vincula collo
Intendunt. Scandit fatalis machina muros,
Feta armis; mediæque minans illabitur urbi.

. . . .

Instamus tamen immemores, cæcique furore,
Et monstrum infelix sacratâ sistimus urbe!

Surely these lines must vividly represent the feelings with which all zealous Roman Catholics must look back upon the

some overpowering influence abroad, which compelled many of the most devoted subjects of the former system to join in this labour of destruction. The surprising facility with which these changes were accomplished, may reasonably be ascribed, in part, to the progress of inquiry among those of the Clergy, who were most distinguished for learning and integrity; and in part, perhaps, to "that mysterious contagion, which spreads over the world the tendencies of an age [1]," and which sometimes partially directs the movements of many, who may not be very distinctly conscious of its operation. Of Cranmer, however, who was the prime agent in all these reforms, it may very confidently be affirmed, that his convictions accompanied every step he took. He came to the Primacy an avowed patron of reformation. His celebrated protestation very perspicuously

above proceedings of a very considerable portion of the Clergy of England; who all this while were, as Strype expresses it, "*great Papalins*" in their hearts! Their emissaries were, at that very time, active throughout the kingdom, extolling the power and dignity of the Pope, and depreciating the authority of secular Princes. Among these, the most notorious was one Hubbardin, a noisy and ranting brawler, whose manner of preaching was "a sort of interlude." His *melo-dramatic* vehemence at last cost him his life; for, on one fatal occasion, the pulpit in which he was raving was too frail for the energies of its occupant; it sunk under the violence of his gesticulations, so that he fell, and fractured both his legs; and he died in consequence of the accident. His extravagancies were such, that they once called forth a monitory letter from Father Latimer, which may be seen in Strype: Eccl. Mem. vol. i. c. 22. and Appendix, No. 43.

[1] Sir J. Mackintosh, Hist. Engl. vol. ii. p. 173.

announced to the world, that he meditated the separation of England from the Papacy. It may be true, that the complexion of his dogmatical theology had, at that time, undergone comparatively but little alteration. It is, nevertheless, quite evident, that his mind was at least in a state of preparation for any further change, whether in discipline or doctrine, which might be suggested by his reading, his reflection, and his experience. His exposure of the Kentish confederacy, shows that he was but little inclined to look with respect on the schemes of pious fraud, which had gradually become naturalized in the Romish system; and his whole subsequent life is the history of an understanding which rejoiced to walk in the light, as it increased, more and more, unto the perfect day, around his path. To say,—as the enemies of his name have said,—that at that period he made "the most public profession of the *Catholic religion*, the royal supremacy excepted," is merely to affirm, that he did not clear at a single bound the interval which now separates the Protestantism of our Church, from the prescribed orthodoxy of the Romish communion.

As for the King himself, it cannot be questioned that these innovations left his doctrinal orthodoxy substantially unshaken and untouched. In one sense, it might even be fairly said, that he was a more ardent *Papist* than before; the supreme Pontificate being now transferred to his own hand. It was almost natural that he should look with more complacency than ever upon the sacred deposit of

doctrine and tradition, now that he had been enabled to usurp the care of it. There remained no one personal interest to shake his allegiance to the Romish religion, considered merely as a scheme of belief. The possessions of the hierarchy, indeed, were still left to tempt his rapacity: but the work of spoliation might be effected with scarcely the sacrifice of a single dogma. And, accordingly, in all essential respects, Henry continued, to his dying day, nearly as rigid a Romanist, as when he first earned his title of Defender of the Faith: and the only wonder is, that with such a *Pope* at the head of the Church, Cranmer should have been able, during his reign, to advance a single step towards that more effective Reformation, which he afterwards so happily accomplished.

Assent of the Convocation, and Subscription of the Chapters and Universities.

It was on the last day of March in this year, that the acts of the secular Legislature received the final assent of the Convocation: and this was speedily followed by declarations and subscriptions from the Chapters, the Universities, and other Ecclesiastical bodies, to the effect, "that the Bishop of Rome has not any greater jurisdiction conferred on him by God in this realm of England, than any foreign Bishop [1]." The seal both of the Church and the State were thus solemnly affixed to this great measure. The Clergy were perhaps partially reconciled to it, by the immediate prospect of relief from Pontifical extortion; little suspecting that a hand would soon be laid upon

[1] Strype, Cranmer, b. i. c. 6.

them, one finger of which would be heavier than the loins of their ancient oppressor.

The first victims of the Act for the succession, were Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and the illustrious Sir Thomas More.* The biographer of Cranmer may well be spared the pain of dwelling on these sanguinary first fruits of Henry's Reformation. The sacrifice of these two men raised an outcry of indignation throughout Europe, which all the apologetic statements of Cromwell were unable to appease [1]. It is satisfactory to find, that the part sustained by the Archbishop in these transactions was honourable alike to his benevolence and his sagacity. Both More and Fisher, it will be remembered, professed their willingness to swear fidelity to the succession, as appointed by the law: but they declined committing themselves to any acquiescence in the statements of the preamble to the Act, which involved an affirmation of the nullity of the marriage with Catharine, and the validity of that with Anne Boleyn. One would imagine that any man, animated by the kindly and generous feelings which some have ascribed to Henry, would gladly have seized on this concession, as a means of rescuing from the death of traitors, a learned and time-honoured churchman, then sinking into the grave, and an old and faithful servant, the confidential companion of his lighter hours, and the ornament of the judicature of England. Such, most assuredly, would have been his conduct, had he lis-

Bishop Fisher, and Sir T. More.

[1] Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. i. c. 32. and Appendix, No. 68.

tened to the counsels of the Archbishop; who addressed a letter to Cromwell on the occasion, strongly urging the only considerations by which there was any hope of reaching the feelings, or shaking the resolution of his master. "If," he says, "they do obstinately persist in their opinions of the preamble, yet, me seemeth, it should not be refused, if they will be sworn to the very Act of the Succession; so that they will be sworn to maintain the same against all powers and potentates[1]." He then goes on to show, that this moderate proceeding would answer all the purposes of the King. It would secure to his cause the accession of two great and venerable names, without any compromise of the new order of things; for, if all the realm should be induced, by the authority of two such men, only to "apprehend the succession," it would be a mighty source of stability and quiet. But Henry was inflexible. He persisted in outraging the feelings of all Europe, by consigning to the block an aged and honest prelate, and a layman, who, (with all the aberrations into which he was betrayed, partly by his fears of revolutionary violence) was among the most renowned sages of his time. It happened unfortunately for Fisher, that the Pope selected the season of his disgrace to insult Henry by sending to the contumacious Bishop a Cardinal's hat. The honour was declined by Fisher; but this did not propitiate the King. The occasion only betrayed him into a

Cranmer's interference in their behalf.

[1] Strype's Cranmer, Appendix, No. 11. The letter is dated the 12th of April.

brutal jest. He observed, that the Pontiff might send a Cardinal's hat; but that he would take care that Fisher should have no head to wear it. With regard to More, the King probably imagined that the arm of "barefaced power" would eventually silence the scruples, or subdue the integrity, of his former friend and Chancellor. But More,—as he declared after his condemnation,—had meditated on the subject for which he died, for seven years together; and could never bring himself to a persuasion, that the marriage with Catharine was invalid. He had, therefore, carefully counted the cost of his warfare; and, to the surprise and indignation of his Sovereign, he accomplished it with the heroism of a Christian[1].

The Ecclesiastical Supremacy conferred on the King.

But, to revert to the progress of the Reformation: it must be observed that the statutes passed by the existing Parliament contained no express clause conferring the Ecclesiastical Supremacy on the King, although they unquestionably implied his right to all the authority attached to that office. It was now thought expedient to invest him with the title in question, by a distinct legislative declaration: and, accordingly, when the same Parliament assembled again in November, 1534, the very first law they passed provided that the King, and his successors, should be

[1] They who are desirous of seeing what can be said for Henry, may consult Turner's Hist. Engl. Henry VIII. b. i. c. 27.

Our information respecting these two cases is, after all, extremely defective. No judicial record of the proceedings is now known to be extant.

reputed and taken as the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England, and should hold this title, together with all the honours and privileges belonging to it: and it further enacted that he should have power to correct and repress all heresies and abuses, which might lawfully be restrained by any manner of spiritual jurisdiction; any usage, prescription, or foreign law to the contrary notwithstanding[1]. By this act the powers of the Pope were transferred in the most distinct and formal manner to the Crown of England; and the English Church was placed in the hitherto anomalous condition of a Christian society which had ventured on a revolt from its reputed Spiritual Head, without any avowed departure from the unity of the Christian doctrine.

The Clergy ordered to publish and inculcate the King's Supremacy.

Nothing could well exceed the anxiety of Henry for the promulgation of his new powers. Even in the June preceding, he had issued a Proclamation, calling upon the whole body of the Clergy to publish, and inculcate by preaching, his title and jurisdiction, as recently recognized by the Parliament and Convocation: and this injunction he accompanied with a threat, that if he found any slackness in its execution, he would visit the defaulters with such extremity of punishment, that the world should take example by it, and beware of disobedience to the lawful commandments of their Sovereign and Prince[2]. This lordly edict was seconded by the

[1] 26 Henry VIII. c. 1. [2] Wilk. Conc. vol. iii. 772.

willing and, beyond all question, the conscientious obedience of the Archbishop. It was so exactly conformable to his own views, that we might, not unreasonably, conjecture it to have been the result of his own advice. At all events, his zealous compliance with it is testified by a letter which he addressed to the King, in August, 1535, in which he renders a full account of his exertions in the enforcement of the royal commands. He had perceived that the usurping character of the Romish power, and the supremacy of the King "by very right and by God's law," were two points of very difficult digestion in his diocese; and, for this reason, he delivered two sermons in his own Cathedral, of which he furnishes his Majesty with a copious abstract. In these compositions, having first denied that the Bishop of Rome was God's Vicar on earth, he fully exposes the various artifices by which his claim to that title had been built up. He contends that the phrases, *Sanctissima Sedes Romana*, and *Sanctissimus Papa*, however fitted to enchant the ear and fancy of the ignorant, were, in reality, sounds without substantial meaning; there being no such thing as genuine holiness at Rome; and he maintains that the *divine laws* and *sacred canons*, as they were termed, are nothing more than the ordinances of an Italian Bishop. It is not, however, by common-places like these, that their highest interest is imparted to the sermons in question. Their chief importance is derived from the testimony which

Cranmer's letter to the King respecting it.

they exhibit to the progress of genuine spiritual *Protestantism* in the mind of Cranmer himself. For he proceeds to *protest*, in the fullest and most forcible manner, against the pernicious notion, that the observance of the Papal Canons can confer the remission of sins. "Our sins," he observes, "are remitted by the death of our Saviour Jesus Christ. It is, therefore, a manifest injury to Christ to impute the remission of our sins to any laws of man's making." These laws, he admits, may, like other human ordinances, be conducive to many useful purposes: but he affirms, in the spirit of true Christian philosophy, that they are no more to be relied on for pardon or acceptance in the sight of God, than the maxims and principles of mere secular jurisprudence. "The laws of your Grace's realm," he observes, "dispose men unto justice and peace;" but neither they, nor any other human enactments, can confer the character of holiness on the observer of them, or entitle him to acquittal in the righteous judgment of the Almighty.

It is scarcely credible that Protestantism, so pure and spiritual as this, can have found much favour in the sight of Henry. The doctrinal traditions and decrees of *the Church* were probably as sacred, in his sight, as when he first committed himself to the defence of the Apostolic See. There is no reason whatever to believe that he was, then, at all prepared to hear of salvation, or remission of sins, as things entirely independent of these holy institutes. The

Archbishop must, doubtless, have been aware of the self-contradictory prejudices of his master: and yet he seizes on this occasion to insist on the only ground on which remission is offered by the *written* word of God.

His letter is curious on another account. It apprises us, that the doctrine of the Primate had raised up an antagonist in the Prior of the Black Friars of Canterbury, who speedily applied himself to the correction of the errors of his diocesan! The crafty polemic, however, in maintaining the Romish infallibility, prudently forbore to name the Bishop of Rome, and contented himself with affirming that *the Church* could never err. In adverting to the alleged vices of the Popes, he declared that he could not dare to *slander* the successors of St. Peter. The prayer of the Archbishop, that this kingdom might be for ever separated from the Roman See, he ascribed to a most culpable want of Christian charity. And lastly, in vindicating the Papal Canons, he again omitted all mention of the supreme and universal Bishop, and maintained, generally, that the laws of *the Church* are equal with the laws of God. All these points the Primate submits to the judgment of his Majesty; suggesting, however, to his gracious consideration, whether treason, as well as heresy, might not be involved in the positions of his antagonist? For how could it be possible to affirm that the authority of the Pope extends to *purgatory*, and that a belief in his supreme power is necessary to salvation, without virtually condemning his Grace's laws, which had pronounced all to be

traitors who should ascribe more authority to the Pope than to any other Bishop[1]?

Although arguments like these must have somewhat perplexed and disturbed his Majesty, he was, perhaps, propitiated by the anxiety they expressed for the integrity of his sovereign power. At all events, they do not appear to have raised any resentment against the Archbishop, or to have impaired the good will and confidence of his master. Respecting his adversary the Prior, and the issue of his opposition, the history of the times supplies no further information.

About this period the whole of Christendom was deeply agitated by the prospect of a General Council. For many years past, the Protestants of Germany had been urgently soliciting the Emperor to summon such an assembly, by virtue of his imperial prerogative. As might be expected, the Pope was violently opposed to any such exercise of secular power, as a manifest usurpation of his own authority; and his opposition was occasionally supported by the French King, who was naturally jealous of any addition to the influence of his great rival. A recent endeavour had been made by the Pontiff to evade the difficulties of the crisis, by the proposal of a Council to be held at Mantua. The offer was purely illusive; the Duke of Mantua having protested that no such influx of strangers should

Expectations of a General Council.

[1] The true date of this letter is Aug. 26, 1535. It is printed in Strype's Cranmer, App. No. 13.

be admitted into his states; but the attempt immediately produced in this country a discussion of the various questions connected with this important and perplexing subject. A short paper, of uncertain date, was accordingly drawn up, and signed by Cranmer, and the Bishops of Durham, Wells, and Ely, affirming that the four first General Councils had been assembled by the authority of the Emperor, whose dominion at that time extended nearly over the whole Christian world; that in later times this prerogative had been suffered to drop from secular hands, and had insensibly been appropriated by the Bishop of Rome; that since the empire had fallen to pieces, no single Monarch could claim the power of assembling an Œcumenical Synod; but that all Christian Potentates were under a moral obligation to consent to such an assembly, whenever it might be required for the preservation of peace, unity, and faith[1].

Cranmer's discussion of this subject.

The same subject was still more largely and elaborately discussed by the Archbishop, in a speech delivered by him, as it would appear, in the House of Lords, though at what precise time cannot now be ascertained. It would load these pages too heavily to transcribe the heads of this masterly disquisition, which exhibits the affluence of knowledge amassed by the Primate in his copious theological collections. Its main

[1] This paper is printed by Burnet, vol. i. p. 174, from the Stillingfleet MSS. at Lambeth.

objects were to show, that the claim of *Divine institution* in behalf of the Papal supremacy, was derived solely from the ardent and unguarded rhetoric of ancient times, which bestowed that attribute on every thing that was thought to be eminently conducive to holiness;—that Councils were called *general*, not because they were attended by delegates from every church, but purely because the summons to attend them was universal;—that Christ appointed no head to the Church, and that even Peter himself remained accountable to his brethren, as appears from his answer when questioned respecting the baptism of Cornelius, and that the self-called successors of St. Peter could not be entitled to an independence which never belonged to their original;—that the Councils of Constance and Basil, and the Divines of Paris recognized, in the Pope, not the vicar of Christ, but only the vicar of the Catholic Church [1];—that the supremacy, wherever it might reside, could extend to nothing beyond purely spiritual matters;—that the most ancient fathers always appealed to the

[1] The principle insisted on by the Fathers of the Council of Basil was, that, although the Pope is the *ministerial* chief, or head, of the Church, yet he is not above the Church; but, on the contrary, is under an obligation to obey General Councils, in matters pertaining to faith, the extinction of schism, and the reformation of the Church,—conformably to the decrees of the Council of Constance. So that it might be said that the Pope was not the Viceregent of Christ; but rather the Vicegerent and Minister of the Church,—the Church itself being always represented by a General Council. See Fleury, Hist. Eccl. ad an. 1432. Tom. xxii. p. 21, 22. Ed. 1726.

Scriptures, but that whenever they *agreed* in their expositions, their testimony was to be considered as having the stamp of Divine truth;—that, consequently, the decisions of Councils should be founded on the word of God, and on those interpretations of it which had received the unvarying consent of the Doctors of the Church;—that the Pope was manifestly unfit for the office of a Judge in matters which vitally involved his own interests;—and, lastly, that Princes who had been betrayed into submission, by terror or mistake, might withdraw their necks from his yoke, as lawfully as a man may make his escape out of the hands of a robber [1]. He then promised that, on a future occasion, he would enlarge on the duties of Bishops within their respective dioceses, and on the power of Christian Princes to compel them to the effective discharge of their office. But of this discourse, if ever it were delivered, no traces are now preserved.

It will not be thought surprising that the variety of questions which had been agitated for several years past, should have called the press into turbulent activity [2]. It would be inconsistent with the design of this work to notice the multitude of pub-

[1] The heads of this speech of Cranmer are given by Burnet, vol. i. p. 174—177. But the speech itself is not now to be found in the Stillingfleet MSS. See Todd's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 119, 120.

[2] The indefatigable Strype will furnish the reader with catalogues of nearly all the works which were called forth, at the various stages of the English Reformation. Eccl. Mem.

lications which continued to indicate the ebbings and flowings of the public mind. The present year, however, was memorable for the second edition of a work which rendered effective service to the cause of reformation. It was entitled "*King Henry's Primer*," to denote that it went forth with the approbation of the Sovereign. It, of course, exhibits a very imperfect approximation to the Protestant Doctrines; but, nevertheless, it assails certain "*pestilent and infectious*" prejudices, with a boldness that must have been sorely offensive to Gardiner, and to all who, like him, were labouring to retard the progress of Reformation, and to make its *chariot wheels drive heavily*. It is, indeed, somewhat surprising that the King himself should have consented to give it the sanction of his name: for, although it retains the Litany, with the usual addresses to the Virgin, the Angels, the Apostles, and the Saints, it prefixes an introduction which distinctly announces that there is no Scriptural warrant for such services, and that the Son of God is our *only* peacemaker and mediator. It, moreover, condemns the songs and psalms which were "piteously pewled forth" for the souls of our departed brethren; and affirms that the Scripture affords no more countenance to such a practice, "than doth the tale of Robin Hood." It is very doubtful whether Henry would have been prepared, deliberately, and in his own person, to maintain these heretical notions. The influence of Cromwell, however, prevailed; and the repeated editions of the volume, attested its

The "King's Primer."

general popularity. That Cranmer was concerned in the compilation, is by no means certain. That it was submitted to his inspection, *after* it was printed, is beyond all doubt; as appears by a letter addressed by him to Cromwell, in July, 1535; in which he says that he had noted, in the copy, "Such faults as were most worthy of reformation." He adds that there were "divers things therein which (if, *before the printing of the book*, had been committed unto him to oversee,) he would have amended." He allows, however, that "they were not of that importance, but that, *for this time*, they might well enough be permitted, and suffered to be read of the people; and that the book itself, no doubt, was very good and commendable[1]."

[1] This letter is printed in Todd's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 129, from the original MS. in the Chapter House, Westminster. The heads of the King's Primer may be found in Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. i. c. 31.

CHAPTER V.

1535—1536.

Cranmer's provincial Visitation—Opposed by Gardiner—And by Stokesley, Bishop of London—Stokesley refuses to assist in revising the Translation of the Bible—Cranmer's care for the Marches of Calais—Negociations with the Protestant Princes of Germany—Bull of Pious III. against Henry—Official publication of it delayed—The Bull injurious to the Papacy—Changes in the Episcopal Bench—Cromwell made Vicegerent—Dissolution of the Monasteries—Sentiments of Cranmer respecting it—Fall of Anne Boleyn—Cranmer's Letter to the King in her behalf—Her marriage annulled—The King marries Jane Seymour the day after Anne Boleyn's execution.

It has been already intimated that the attention of the Archbishop had been deeply engaged by the conflict of opinions in his own diocese of Canterbury. His care, however, was not confined to this more limited sphere of duty. He resolved upon a Visitation of his whole Province, by virtue of his authority as Metropolitan. The measure was somewhat unusual. The general practice of such Provincial Visitations had been suspended for a century; and there were numbers among the Clergy extremely unwilling to see it revived, more especially under such auspices. Nevertheless, Cranmer persevered. He was, doubtless, anxious

Cranmer's Provincial Visitation.

for an opportunity of promoting, throughout his province, the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy,—of closely inspecting the conduct of the Bishops and other dignitaries,—and of correcting the superstitious practices of their cathedrals and parish churches. In the preceding year, 1534, he had already exercised his metropolitan privilege, by visiting the Diocese of Norwich. This Diocese it appears was in a state of deplorable disorder, which demanded the vigorous interference of the Primate. For a time the aged but contumacious Bishop sturdily resisted these proceedings; but was at last brought to submission by the firmness of his superior. An opposition at least equally vexatious awaited the Archbishop from the jealous and crafty spirit that presided over the Diocese of Winchester. Fortified with the licence of his Sovereign, the Archbishop despatched his monition to that Prelate, the memorable Stephen Gardiner; and the immediate consequence was a complaint to the King, on the part of the Bishop, against this unreasonable and needless exercise of power. In this remonstrance Gardiner represented that his Diocese had been visited by Archbishop Warham five years before—that so speedy a repetition of this measure would expose his Clergy to an oppressive expense—and, lastly, that the language of the official process conveyed an affront to the supreme authority of the King, since it claimed for the Archbishop the title of *Primate of all England.* The veriest infatuation could not have suggested a more feeble or contempt-

April, 1535. Opposed by Gardiner.

ible objection. The title had been immemoriably used by the Archbishops of Canterbury; it had never been thought injurious to the supremacy of the Pope; and nothing but the blindest malice would venture to suggest that the same title could now be injurious to the supremacy of the King. Besides, till the present moment, the offensive and dangerous tendency of the style had never been discovered by this keen-sighted remonstrant. His care for the royal dignity had slept, until it was awakened by the impending visitation. And, as for the burden it would lay upon the Diocese, it was very easy to show that this objection, if allowed, must have intercepted all the visitations which had actually occurred there within the last ten years, and would intercept all which might be attempted in future. These points are amply insisted upon by Cranmer in a long letter on the subject, addressed by him to Secretary Cromwell [1]; in which he affirms that if all Bishops were as indifferent as he was to mere names and titles, the King's Highness would find but little difficulty in the satisfactory adjustment of such matters.

Opposed by Stokesley.

In Stokesley, Bishop of London, the Primate found another adversary, quite as intractable as Gardiner, and armed with an objection of greater plausibility. In the monition of the Archbishop he was styled the *Legate of the Apostolic See;* a title, it must be confessed, extremely unbe-

[1] This letter is printed at length in Stype's Cranmer, App. No. 14.

coming in a Prelate who had solemnly abjured all Papal authority, and whose whole life was one continued protest against it. This title, however, like the other, had for ages belonged to the Archbishops of Canterbury, who, by virtue of their Primacy, were regarded as *native Legates* of the Pope [1]: and Cranmer, doubtless, valued it about as much as our Protestant Kings valued the title of Defender of the Faith; and kept it purely as a formulary part of his official style. A single word of friendly suggestion would instantly have produced, on his part, an application to the King for permission to lay it aside: and some time afterwards it was, very properly, omitted altogether, and the title of *Metropolitan and Primate* substituted for it. The ostensible claim of Legatine dignity, however, afforded a valuable opening for perverse opposition. The occasion was eagerly seized by Stokesley, who did not submit to the *intrusion* of his Metropolitan, till he had entered a formal protest against it on his own register,—not being allowed to do it on that of the Archbishop. In this document he denounces the use of this obnoxious

[1] It was one notorious part of the Papal system to depress the Episcopal authority. According to that system, the Pope was the universal Bishop, and all other Bishops held their powers, not by virtue of an Apostolic succession, but merely as delegates of the Supreme Pontiff, the representative on earth of the heavenly and invisible *Bishop of our souls.* Conformably to this policy, the Metropolitan of England had for several centuries been distinguished by the title of *Legatus natus;* apparently a designation of honour; in fact, a perpetual badge of dependence and servitude.

form: and moreover, appeals against the suspension of all other Ecclesiastical jurisdiction during the visitation—a power which, yet, had been uniformly exercised by all the predecessors of Cranmer[1]!

Stokesley refuses to assist in revising the Translation of the Bible.

Another occasion soon presented itself to the Bishop of London for insulting Cranmer, and obstructing his designs. From the first moment of his advancement, the Archbishop was impatient for the circulation of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; and in December, 1534, he had actually prevailed on the Convocation to frame an address to the King, beseeching him to decree that the Bible should be translated into English, and that the task should be assigned to such honest and learned men as His Highness should be pleased to nominate[2]. It seems that the Romish prejudices of Henry were not strong enough to resist an appeal, which tended, in its obvious consequences, to strengthen his hands against the Papal power. In pursuance of this design, Cranmer divided Tindal's Translation of the New Testament into nine or ten parts, which he distributed among the most learned Bishops of the time; requiring that each of them should send back his portion, carefully corrected, by an appointed day. With this injunction every man punctually complied with the exception of Stokesley, whose share of the work was *the Acts of the Apostles*. He had offered not a syllable of objection to the task when first it

[1] Strype's Cranmer, b. i. c. 6. [2] Ibid. c. 8.

was proposed to him: but, when Cranmer sent to him for his part, he made the following insolent reply; "I marvel much what my Lord of Canterbury meaneth, that thus abuseth the people, and in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures; which doth nothing else but infect them with heresy. I have bestowed never an hour on my portion, and never will: and, therefore, my Lord of Canterbury shall have his book again; for I will never be guilty of bringing the simple people into error [1]."

Incidents like these are far from unimportant in a life of Cranmer. They exemplify the multiplied vexations and impediments which were scattered in his path towards the spiritual deliverance of his country. He was surrounded by brethren whose *heart was not right with his heart* in the work of reformation; and he was watched by a Sovereign, intent on the consolidation of his recently acquired

[1] Strype here mentions a somewhat ludicrous circumstance which illustrates the character of the malcontent Bishop. When Cranmer expressed astonishment at his "frowardness," a facetious Ecclesiastic, named Lawney, was standing by, and immediately replied—"I can tell your Grace why my Lord of London will not bestow any labour or pains this way. Your Grace knoweth well that his portion is a piece of the New Testament. But he being persuaded that Christ had bequeathed him nothing in his Testament, thought it were madness to bestow any labour or pain, where no gain was to be gotten. . And besides this, it is the Acts of the Apostles, which were simple poor fellows, and therefore my Lord of London disdained to have to do with any of them."—Whereat my Lord of Canterbury, and others that stood by, could not forbear from laughter.

power, yet secretly attached to the traditional doctrines, and sometimes disquieted, even to exasperation, by the troubles and distractions incident to his new position. It must have required a spirit of rare equanimity and patience to conduct any human being in safety over a way so rugged as that which was now to be trodden by the Archbishop: and a just estimate of his transcendent merits and services can never be formed by those, who will not keep steadily in view the difficulties which assailed him at every step of his progress.

8th October. Cranmer's care for the Marches of Calais.

From a letter addressed by Cranmer in this year to Secretary Cromwell, it appears that his paternal care was extended to the Marches of Calais, then a dependency of the Crown of England. According to representations of the Archbishop, "the common and vulgar people" of that place were in a state of gross "ignorance and blindness." Their superiors were by no means in a much more hopeful condition; and the evil of all this moral destitution was heavily aggravated by the vast concourse of aliens and strangers, who were constantly resorting thither. He accordingly suggests that "it would be no less a charitable and godly deed, than a singular commodity for this realm, to have in those parts at least two learned persons planted and settled there, by the King's authority, in some honest living; whose sincerity in conversation of living and teaching should shortly, no doubt, extinct and extirpate all manner of hypocrisy, false faith, and blindness of God and his

Word, wherein now the inhabitants there be altogether wrapt; to the no little slander, I fear me, of this realm, and prejudice of the good and laudable acts lately conceived by the King's grace, and the High Court of Parliament." He then proceeds to solicit the good offices of Cromwell for this purpose; and the person whom he recommends for the Parsonage of St. Peter's at Calais, then likely soon to become vacant, was no other than Thomas Garrett, who several years before, in 1527, was one of the most active distributors of Scriptural tracts, and of Tindal's translation of the New Testament, and who afterwards was a victim to the sanguinary Six Articles [1].

Negociations with the Protestant Princes of Germany.

During this year, the negociations of the King with the German Protestant Princes, were carried on with great activity: though with little prospect of an issue satisfactory to either party. On the one hand, the Germans were naturally anxious that their cause should be strengthened by the accession of so commanding a name as that of Henry of England; and they laboured according to engage him in a league which should completely identify him with themselves, and pledge him to a full adoption both of their religious doctrines and their political interests. On the other hand, it was evident that the regards of the King were, to say the least, quite as intently fixed on the confederates

[1] This letter is printed entire in Todd's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 137, from the original MS. in the Chapter House at Westminster.

of Smalcalde, as on the Divines of Wittenbergh. He would gladly, indeed, have seen his marriage with Anne Boleyn stamped with the sanction of the German doctors; but he was still more solicitous to fortify himself with the substantial aid of the German Princes, against the resentment and indignation of the Emperor. His success with the theologians was but slender; for they pertinaciously adhered to the doctrine, that if the Jewish prohibition could ever admit of a dispensation, it could not be reasonably considered as wholly *indispensable* with Christians: and Luther himself now declared in writing to Dr. Barnes, one of Henry's Ambassadors, that the Mosaic injunction was no longer absolutely binding, since, in his judgment, it was not at variance with the law of nature. The coalition with the Protestant confederates did not proceed much more hopefully than the correspondence with the Divines. It lingered on for several years, and, from a variety of causes, at length was altogether abandoned[1].

There was one circumstance at the present moment which rendered Henry peculiarly impatient to collect round his cause all the force of public opinion, and all the strength of powerful alliance. The chair of St. Peter was now filled by Pius III., a Pontiff of much more decisive and impetuous character than his predecessor. On the death of Clement, the conflict ceased altogether to resemble a mere personal mis-

[1] A copious account of these negociations may be found in Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. i. c. 32. 34. 45.

understanding between two recriminating individuals. To Pius, the execution of More, and especially of Fisher, appeared to be no less than the signal of implacable warfare. In his view, it scattered to the winds all hope of an accommodation; so that nothing, as he conceived, now remained for him, but to call forth the thunder *out of his treasures*. Accordingly, on the 30th August, 1535, there was executed at the Vatican that celebrated Bull which then made *all ears to tingle*, and which, to this hour, speaks in the deepest tone of warning to Protestants, and covers with confusion the advocates of the Apostolic See. It has been found convenient by certain of the Papal writers to assimilate this edict to the proclamation of an indignant liege lord against his rebellious vassal; as if its object were, merely to revive the *feudatory* claim which was established in the reign of John! The reader will judge whether its language resembles that which was ever heard from the most arbitrary feudal Sovereign[1]. It begins by reminding Henry of his enormities in repudiating Catharine, espousing Anne Boleyn, and enacting laws in derogation of the Papal supremacy. Then, after referring to the censures pronounced by Clement, it summons the King and his accomplices to appear within sixty days before the Pontiff, on pain of excommunication, and of exclusion from Christian burial in the event of their death. In case

Bull of Pius III. against Henry.

[1] This Bull is printed at length in Wilk. Conc, vol. iii. p. 792 —797.

of their disobedience, it lays an interdict on public worship, and on every species of religious ministration. It pronounces illegitimate the issue of Anne Boleyn, and declares her posterity incapable of the rights of property, or the enjoyment of office or dignity. It absolves the subjects of Henry from their fealty and allegiance. It disqualifies his abettors for giving testimony, and for making wills or conveyances, and, in short, for exercising any civil right. It forbids the faithful to hold any sort of intercourse with him or his adherents. It commands his Clergy to leave the realm; and forbids the military to stir in his defence. It prohibits all Christian powers from entering into treaty or confederacy with the King; and dissolves all such engagements as may previously have been made. It charges the nobility and gentry to take up arms against their Sovereign; and authorizes all who do so, to seize the property of their adversaries, and to reduce their persons to slavery. It enjoins the publication of these censures, with the solemnity of tolling bells, and extinguished tapers. And lastly, it ordains that the Bull should be affixed to the gates of Bruges, Tournay, and Dunkirk; and that this should be deemed a promulgation as effective as if it were personally read by all whom it might concern!

Official publication of the Bull delayed.

Three years were permitted to elapse before this furious instrument was finally and officially sent forth. It was hoped that the very *rumour* of it would be sufficient to prostrate the spirit of the delinquent, and

that his penitence, or, at least, his outward submission, would intercept the *blast* which otherwise must smite him down. In the interval, the Pontiff circulated a report that, in the event of Henry's continued obstinacy, his kingdom would be *given to another:* and that the chosen substitute would be some German Prince, who was free from all suspicion of heresy or schism[1]. These invitations to rebellion produced an effect precisely the reverse of that which was contemplated by him who issued them. They animated the King to more vigorous exertions than ever, in defence of his recently established prerogative, and prepared him for more daring assaults on the Romish doctrine and discipline, than he otherwise, perhaps, would have endured to think of. The country was enlightened by a multitude of publications relative to the great controversy that was now in progress; and the continental powers were disabused by copious and elaborate statements, relative to the points at issue between England and Rome[2]. So that it may be truly said, that the arrogance and infatuation of Pontiffs and of Cardinals, were among the most potent of Cranmer's auxiliaries, in working out the independence of his country.

The Bull injurious to the Papacy.

Among the most effectual measures for the accom-

[1] Herbert, p. 423, ed. 1683.

[2] See the Instructions to Paget. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 94, and Rec. No. 30.

plishment of his purpose, may justly be reckoned the change which, about this time, the Archbishop was enabled to effect, in the Episcopal Bench. It was in the year 1535 that he had the satisfaction of consecrating Latimer and Shaxton; one to the See of Worcester, the other to that of Salisbury. Of a name so known and honoured as that of Latimer, little need be said in this place, except that he remained *faithful unto death* to the cause in which he was engaged. The memory of Shaxton cannot be contemplated with so much complacency. At this period, indeed, he was an ardent, and, so far, a valuable ally. He even vaunted that he would give way to none but the Primate and Latimer, either in diligence and ability, or in care for the advancement of the true religion. This boastful declaration indicates, in some degree, the character of the man. There was vanity, caprice, and precipitation, mixed up with his zeal: it is, therefore, the less surprising to find him afterwards unable to endure the terrors of persecution. Several other promotions were likewise effected by the influence of the Primate, all of which were more or less favourable to his designs; though there still remained on the Bench a formidable proportion of open or secret hostility, ready to array itself, at any moment, against all further improvement.

Changes in the Episcopal Bench.

The year 1535 was further remarkable for the elevation of Cromwell to the unprecedented office of vicegerent to the King

Cromwell made Vicegerent.

in all Ecclesiastical affairs. The life of this extraordinary man exhibited a remarkable instance of the sportiveness of fortune. He was the son of a fuller, or according to others, of a blacksmith[1]. His early life was distinguished by an ungovernable fondness for adventure. His first exploit was a journey to Rome, to solicit, on behalf of the good town of Boston, the costly grace of the greater and lesser pardons[2]; a mission in which his light-hearted ingenuity suc-

[1] He was once somewhat bluntly reminded of his origin by Dr. George Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, the first Protestant Prelate in Ireland; who, without meaning the slightest offence, said to him in a letter, "The country-folk here *much hate your lordship*, and despitefully call you, in their Irish tongue, *the blacksmith's son*." See Todd's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 143.

[2] The substance of these "*jolly pardons*" may be found in Foxe, Eccl. Biog. vol. ii. p. 278—283. It is also stated by Foxe, that Cromwell was at one time a trooper in the Italian wars, and assisted at the sack of Rome, under Henry Bourbon; and that afterwards he fell into such abject indigence, as compelled him to ask relief from a Florentine merchant, named Frescobaldi. According to the same account, the generous Italian furnished the ragged stripling with the means of returning to his own country; a benefit which, to his honour, Cromwell never forgot, and which he lived to repay most nobly, in the days of his grandeur, when his benefactor fell into misfortune and decay.

It must be observed, however, that, here, the narrative of the martyrologist is extremely apocryphal. In the first place, the siege of Rome took place in 1527; and it is certain that Cromwell must have returned to England, and have been in Wolsey's service, as early as 1524; for, in 1525, he was employed by the Cardinal in the suppression of several small monasteries, preparatory to the foundation of his Colleges. Secondly, the only authority produced by Foxe for the romantic story of Cromwell's gratitude to

ceeded to admiration. After some disastrous vicissitudes, he returned to England, and became attached to the service of Cardinal Wolsey; whom he defended with conspicuous ability and zeal, when he was impeached by the Commons in the year 1529. Being at last dissatisfied with his situation, or perceiving that the Cardinal was doomed to destruction, Cromwell contrived to recommend himself to the King; to whom he rendered his services necessary, partly by his vigour and intelligence in the dispatch of business, and partly, it may be conjectured, by the somewhat Machiavelian complexion of his political morality[1]. The function to which he was now ele-

the Italian merchant is a novel of Bandello. (Novelle, ed. Mil. 1560. vol. ii. p. 140. Nov. xviii.) See Ellis, Orig. Lett. 2d Series, vol. ii. p. 117.

[1] About the year 1529, Reginald Pole had an interview with Cromwell, in the house of Cardinal Wolsey, in which he endeavoured to ascertain the sentiments of Pole respecting the King's matrimonial question; and, on that occasion, he urgently recommended the celebrated work of *Machiavel de Principe*, as the most perfect manual of courtly knowledge, and political science. It is true that Pole was a virulent detractor of Cromwell, to whose intrigues he mainly ascribed the separation of Henry from Queen Catharine, a proceeding which Pole always regarded with unmixed detestation. But it is also true, that Pole's account derives no inconsiderable confirmation from Cavendish; who mentions, that Cromwell, after complaining to him that his faithfulness to Wolsey had brought him into discredit, and that he had received no adequate reward for his services, declared, that he would forthwith "ride to London, and so to Court, where he would either *make or mar*, before he came again." (Cavend. Life of Wolsey, Eccl. Biog. vol. i. p. 453, 454.) The very next day he was actually at Court, and obtained an audience of the

vated, was unknown, either in the theory or the practice of the British Constitution. Former kings may, indeed, have had their favourites, on whom they devolved much of the splendour and emolument, and all the cares, of government. But Henry, by a formal and solemn appointment, raised his confidential minister to the office of Vicegerent, within his own immediate dominions, in all matters touching Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and for the redress of all errors, heresies, and abuses in the Church. This title and appointment were afterwards recognised by the Legislature, as conferred by the King, in his character of "supreme head in earth, under God, of the Church of England;" and by the same Act, precedence was assigned to the Vicegerent above the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with a voice to assent or dissent in the same manner as any other Lord of Parliament[1].

It was this commanding position which gave to

King; to whom, as Pole affirms, he urgently recommended the assumption of the Royal Supremacy, as a measure which would place at his disposal the *whole patrimony* of the English Church. He further insisted, that all opposition to that dignity, either by word, or writing, should be punished as High Treason. "And thus," he concluded, "your Majesty will assert the authority which belongs to the royal title, and will become the Head, and the sole Head, in your own realm."—"In this statement," says Pole, "I have related nothing of any moment, but what I have heard, either from the mouth of Cromwell himself, or from those who were parties to his counsel." Apolog. ad Car. v. Imp. p. 121. 123. 126. 133. See Ellis, Orig. Lett. 2d Series, vol. ii. p. 119.

[1] 31 Henry VIII. c. x. s. 2.

Cromwell such vast influence, in assisting to accomplish the great Ecclesiastical revolution. It appears that his thoughts were first seriously directed to religious subjects by the perusal of Erasmus's translation of the New Testament; the text of which he is said to have actually committed to memory, in the course of his journeyings on the continent[1]. One effect of this mental discipline probably was, to inspire him with a hearty contempt for the objects, for which he had been originally dispatched to Rome, and to engage him firmly in the cause of the Reformation. It was fortunate for the Archbishop that the prodigious powers of the Vicegerency were thus entrusted to one, whose energies were devoted to many of the same objects, for which he was himself incessantly labouring, and whose policy committed him to an inveterate conflict with the abuses of the Papacy. The first application, however, of this enormous force, was of a nature which must, probably, have agitated the cautious Primate with considerable alarm. It was directed with its full sway against the Monastic system of England. It was already quite notorious that the Religious Houses were among the most substantial supports of the Papal domination; and it was, moreover, certain, that the secular Clergy had ample cause to regard them with bitter jealousy and aversion. Their exemption from Episcopal jurisdiction, had reduced the ordinary ministers of religion to comparative in-

Dissolution of the Monasteries.

[1] Eccl. Biog. vol. ii. p. 284.

significance; and their shameless appropriation of Rectories had consigned a large proportion of the parochial incumbents to poverty, and consequently to ignorance and to contempt. In addition to these delinquencies, the Vicegerent had, doubtless, suggested to his master, another offence still more inexcusable [1]. Their wealth was supposed to be enormous: and it would be no difficult matter to persuade a prodigal and vain-glorious monarch, that their revenues might be applied to much better purposes, than the support of consumers, who were either idle and unprofitable, or who could have no other motives for activity, but the excitements of superstition or disaffection. Cromwell had already the advantage of some practice in this line of occupation. He had been employed by Wolsey, about the year 1525, to expedite the suppression of certain small monasteries and priories, preparatory to the foundation of Christchurch,

[1] That Cromwell was not slow to suggest such considerations to his master may be collected even from his ardent admirer Foxe; who states, that when the Clergy had fallen under a præmunire, for their submission to the legatine power of Wolsey, Cromwell "declared thereupon, how his Majesty might accumulate to himself great riches, *so much as all the Clergy of his realm were worth*, if it so pleased him to take the occasion now offered." Eccl. Biog. vol. ii. p. 288—291. All this confirms what has been related by Pole: see ante, p. 116. note (1). His Majesty was graciously pleased to content himself with a composition of £100,000 from the province of Canterbury, (not much short of one million of our present money,) and £18,000 from the province of York. Foxe, as might be expected from his puritanical prejudices, seems rather to chuckle over the project of spoliation. Eccl. Biog. vol. ii. p. 235.

Oxford. In this business[1] he had shown himself "forward aud industrious," to a degree which, as Foxe informs us, "had procured him much grudge with divers of the superstitious sort, and with some, also, of noble calling about the King." He had now a much more magnificent field for the exercise of his powers; and it must be allowed that he addressed himself to his work with exemplary vigour and dexterity. The first step towards the demolition of the monastic establishments, was, if possible, to render them infamous. This object was sufficiently attained by the first visitation of the religious houses. The result of the inquisition is well known. The scenes which it disclosed (though, doubtless, in many instances, represented to the public with gross exaggeration) were precisely such as might be anticipated by any one possessing the slightest acquaintance with human nature. The retreats of "fugitive and cloistered virtue" were sometimes found to be haunted by those vices, which thrive most rankly in the absence of all salutary inspection and control, and which, too frequently, rush into the space which is left unoccupied with the active duties of life. And, what was, if possible, still more deeply to be deplored and condemned, the ministers of religion were frequently unmasked as the actors in a system of puerile and despicable fraud. The disclosure thus made,

[1] According to Pole, Cromwell never had any success till he engaged in this business; which made him so odious, that it drove him to seek an introduction at Court. Apolog. ad Car. v. p. 126, 127. See Ellis, Orig. Lett. 2d Series, vol. ii. p. 118.

most effectually answered its purpose. It dissipated the charm which had hovered for ages over these venerable sanctuaries, and prepared the national mind for the sweeping forfeiture which was soon to follow.

In the next year, the work of confiscation began. The report of the Inquisitors was presented to the Legislature, and was speedily followed by the suppression of all the monasteries which possessed an annual revenue not exceeding 200*l.* The proceeds of this spoliation were placed at the disposal of the King; and afterwards, in 1537, the *Court of Augmentations* was instituted, for the application of this new treasure to the exigencies of the Crown, and for the adjustment of all matters arising out of the transfer of such an amount of property. No less than 376 religious houses were dissolved at a single blow. A vast mass of ignorance, want, and disaffection, were thus suddenly thrown loose upon society; the public compassion was awakened in behalf of wandering helplessness; and the influence of superstition was, for a time, diffused throughout the land, by the aid of the kindliest feelings of human nature. It will be seen, hereafter, that a calamitous harvest was to be reaped, from this precipitate and rapacious husbandry.

1536.

It is not to be supposed that Archbishop Cranmer could be averse to a prudent reformation, and even reduction, of the monastic system. No one knew better than he, that it formed an essential part of that dangerous mechanism, by which the influence of

Rome was transmitted, with incomparable speed and precision, to the very extremities of the whole Christian community. Nothing, indeed, is more certain than the fact, that Cranmer regarded the whole institution, as it then existed, in the light of a fatal impediment to the progress of the Reformation. He was aware that delusion and superstition, and the whole *deceivableness of unrighteousness*, formed the chief elements of its influence, and even of its very existence. The monastic establishments were, in truth, the fortresses of the most pernicious abuses and perversions of Christianity. To destroy the monasteries was, in fact, to demolish the retreats which the Papacy *had made so strong for itself*. It was there that the doctrines of purgatory and image-worship, and the propitiatory virtue of masses, and, in short, the whole apparatus of Romanism, were most formidably entrenched [1]. It cannot, therefore, be surprising, that even the subversion of such a system should be contemplated, without much displeasure or alarm, by a Prelate who was deeply committed to a warfare with these demoralising absurdities. It will, nevertheless, appear that, throughout the whole process of the abolition, it was his desire, and that of his confederates in the cause of the Reformation, that so much of the ancient fabric should be retained, as might be capable of conversion to pious and salutary uses. An instance of such enlightened appropriation

Sentiments of Cranmer respecting the dissolution of the religious houses.

[1] Burnet, vol. i. p. 190.

was already before the world. With the consent of the Papacy, Wolsey had dissolved no less than forty religious houses; but then, a noble College[1] arose out of their ruins, which forms, to this day, the proudest monument of the Cardinal's enlightened munificence. Besides, in the judgment of Cranmer, and his colleague Latimer, it would have been both humane and wise to retain some three or four religious houses in every county. Under careful regulation, they might have offered shelter to contemplative piety; they might have opened a quiet harbour to many a tempest-tost spirit that sighed for rest; and they might have gladdened whole neighbourhoods by the kindest offices of hospitality and benevolence. Our country is now decorated by venerable ruins,—the wonder and the delight of tourists, and painters, and antiquarian enthusiasts. Had the voice of Cranmer been listened to, the realm would have been blessed and consecrated, throughout, with Schools and Colleges—with "seminaries of sound learning and religious education"—with the sanctuaries of worship, and the retirements of penitence and devotion. A scheme such as this, might have been like the *vine of Israel, which covered the hills with her shadow; which sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river.* But the demon of pillage was now to be let loose; and, like the *wild boar out of the wilderness,* it wasted and devoured all before it: and, at this hour, the land

[1] Christchurch, Oxford:

is mourning under the havoc and desolation of that unhallowed time.

Fall of Anne Boleyn.

The moment was now at hand, which was to bring to a disastrous termination the King's anxiety for the approbation of Europe to his marriage with Anne Boleyn. The hour of that unhappy Lady's destruction was approaching with a stealthy pace. It would be alien from the design of this volume, to explore the controversy which relates to her guilt or innocence. This, perhaps, is one among those historical questions, which, in the absence of documentary proof, must now be left in impenetrable obscurity[1]. For the sake of human nature, however, one would gladly hope that the multitude of stupid and flagitious calumnies which have been heaped upon her name by certain writers for the Papacy, are, at this day, repudiated, not only by Protestants, but by candid and reasonable Roman Catholics. The value of these imputations may be pretty confidently estimated by the assertions of Sanders, who, in the true spirit of self-destructive malice, has represented the favourite of the voluptuous Henry, not only as a monster of dissoluteness, but as loaded

[1] "The records of her trial and conviction," says Dr. Lingard, "have perished; *perhaps by the hands of those that respected her memory.*" It is surely very surprising that serpentine insinuations, like this, should be reckoned, by any Christian man, among the legitimate weapons by which a writer may assail either the reputation of the living, or the memory of the dead!

with personal deformity [1]. On the other hand, they who are most favourably disposed to her memory, must be compelled to allow, that she was defective in that dignified reserve, which alone could give safety to her sudden and giddy elevation. She had, probably, observed, that the "sober, stedfast," and even austere demeanour of Catharine, was but ill fitted to fix the vagrant fancy of a man like Henry; and she was tempted, by this consideration, to indulge, without restraint, in the vivacity which was natural to her temperament. She forgot that, in her position, looks, and syllables, and gestures, are often full of perilous import: and that the "lightest word" may be expanded, by jealous inquisitors, into "confirmation strong" as the most direct and irresistible proof. It is, further, difficult to repress a suspicion, that she never was much distinguished by depth of generous sensibility, or by true loftiness of mind. Her letters to Wolsey, in 1527 or 1528, betray the flutter of impatient exultation at the grandeur of the prospect which was then opening before her. They are

[1] According to Sanders, though she had elegance and accomplishments, yet she was long visaged, sallow in her complexion, as if labouring under jaundice, disfigured by one projecting tooth, by a sixth finger on her right hand, and by a wen in her neck. And this was the object for whom we are to believe that Henry defied Cardinals and Popes, trampled on the prepossessions of centuries, and threw Europe into commotion! Sanders, De Schisme Angl. lib. i. p. 15, ed. 1628.—As a proof of her *moral deformity*, the same veracious writer charges her with an attempt to poison the Bishop of Rochester! Ib. p. 72.

also prodigal in professions of unalterable regard and gratitude towards the Cardinal, who, nevertheless, soon became the object of her marked resentment and aversion[1]. Again, when Fox, the King's Almoner, returned from Rome, in 1528, with his report of the satisfactory progress of the embassy, she was so bewildered with delight, that, in her conference with him, she repeatedly forgot herself, and called him *Dr. Stephens*;—*that* being the name by which Gardiner was generally spoken of,—and Gardiner himself being the man whose activity and address in the negociation, had, at that moment, complete possession of her thoughts[2]. These particulars, unimportant in themselves, yet seem to indicate a defect of strength and solidity in her character. But there is another fact which too evidently manifests a want of feminine delicacy and feeling. In January, 1536, the exemplary Catharine expired at Kimbolton; and the present occupant of her bed and throne was unable to suppress her satisfaction at this event. Instead of adopting the national style of mourning, she appeared, according to the French usage, in a dress of yellow; in contempt of the public sympathy, and in neglect of those tender recollections, which a moment so solemn would naturally awaken in the heart of her Royal Husband.

The storm burst upon the head of the unfortunate Queen, at a moment when all around her seemed to

[1] Burnet, vol. i. p. 55, 56. 79.
[2] Strype, Eccl. Mem. c. 13.

be serenity and sunshine; though some lowering clouds had recently passed over her, which, to keener eyes, may have been ominous of the coming tempest. The melancholy sequel of her story shows that she had long been surrounded by enemies and spies[1]. The full particulars of it I must leave to other historians, and hasten to the only passages in which Cranmer has any immediate concern.

The danger which environed the Queen must have sent a chill into his heart. It cast a gloom over the prospects of that cause, to which his whole energies were devoted: for, whatever may have been her failings, Anne was, beyond all question, a cordial protectress of the Reformation, a kind benefactress to the poor, and a munificent patroness of meritorious and learned men. His dismay must have been deepened by the orders which he speedily received. On the 2nd of May he was commanded to repair to Lambeth, but was forbidden to approach the Court; a clear indication that he was numbered among those whose presence might obstruct the progress of the proceedings against her. But though absent from the scene of these preparations, he could not prevail upon himself to be altogether silent. From his Palace he addressed to the King a letter, in behalf of his accused consort, conceived, undoubtedly, in the language

Cranmer's letter to the King in behalf of Anne Boleyn.

[1] It has been recently ascertained, that a Commission had been *secretly* issued, on the 25th April, directing an enquiry into her supposed misconduct.—Turn. Hist. Engl. Hen. VIII. ad. an. 1536.

of warm benevolence and sympathy. And, to the honour of Cranmer, it should always be remembered, that he alone, among the herd of courtiers, dared to appear as the friend of the Queen, in this her bitter extremity. In the midst of her cruel desertion, the solitary voice of the Archbishop was raised in her cause: and this, at least, is sufficient to exhibit him in noble contrast with the baseness and inhumanity, which browbeat her before the Council-board,—which perverted, into indications of guilt, the broken accents of her hysterical, and almost frantic agitation,—and which turned her prison into a place of torture, by surrounding her with attendants whom she had reason to suspect and to despise. That the topics of Cranmer's letter are skilfully selected for his purpose, cannot reasonably be questioned. He professes the deepest sympathy with the distress of the King; he does not attempt to palliate the nature of the offence, with which the Queen was charged; and he fully admits that no punishment could be too heavy, *if* her guilt could be established. At the same time, he avows that the very accusation had thrown him into such perplexity, "that his mind was clean amazed: *for I never,*" he adds, "*had better opinion in woman, than I had in her; which maketh me to think that she should not be culpable:*"—thus taking care to let the King perceive, that he, at least, had never discerned, in any action of her life, the faintest symptom of vicious passions or licentious habits. By taking a higher tone than this, he might, indeed, have made a splendid, but useless sacrifice of his own

safety; but he would, most certainly, have inflamed the exasperation of his Sovereign, and would, as certainly, have aggravated, if possible, the peril of the Queen.

The concluding sentences of his address were evidently written under an impression that the proof against her was stronger than he was at first willing to believe. Before he had closed his letter he had been sent for to the star-chamber by the Chancellor, and three other Lords, who, doubtless, then communicated to him the particulars of the evidence collected. And that this was done in such a manner as to leave a deep impression upon his mind, is clear from the words which he added afterwards,—"I am exceedingly sorry that such faults can be proved by the Queen, as I heard of their relation [1]."

The most inexplicable circumstance in the whole of this transaction still remains to be noticed. The sentence pronounced against Anne was, that she should be *burnt* or beheaded, at the King's pleasure. On the 17th of May, the second day after the sentence had been recorded, she was brought to Lambeth; and there, after the forms of trial had been once more solemnly enacted, her marriage with the King was declared to be a nullity! What were the grounds of this strange proceeding, or for what earthly purpose it was instituted, is now utterly unknown. The only effect of it must have been, to stultify, in the

[1] The whole of Cranmer's Letter is printed in Burnet, vol. i. p. 200. It will also be found in the Appendix to this volume, No. III.

judgment of every reasonable man, the whole of the preceding process. For, if the marriage were merely and absolutely void, Anne must have been, all along, the concubine of the King, and not his wife; and by what law of any Christian land was the infidelity of a mistress ever visited with the penalties of treason?

A. Boleyn's marriage annulled.

The part which Cranmer was condemned to bear, in pouring this last ingredient of bitterness into her cup, must have been felt by him as one of the severest afflictions of his life. And yet it is difficult to imagine by what means he could have escaped from the task, otherwise than by abdicating his Bishopric. The whole, it should be remembered, was a judicial proceeding, at which he was compelled, by virtue of his station, to preside[1]. Both the King and the Queen appeared before him

[1] Dr. Lingard affirms that "he acceded to the proposal *with all the zeal of a proselyte.*" It is to be presumed that the writer has some grounds for this assertion, though he has not thought fit to produce them. He is, of course, aware that, to make such an assertion without grounds, is a compromise of historical integrity, which it would be extremely disagreeable to characterize as it deserves.

Let the reader compare this case with another which, in *one* respect, resembles it. In 1529, Wolsey was prosecuted for procuring Bulls from Rome. It was perfectly notorious that what he had done was, not only with the knowledge and consent, but for the service, of the King. Wolsey, however, thought it prudent to confess. The Court, therefore, could do no otherwise than convict him. In the same manner, when Anne Boleyn was before Cranmer, sitting judicially, and confessed that there were certain legal impediments to her marriage, what could he do but pronounce the marriage void?

by their Proctors, and demanded his sentence. It further appears, from the record of that proceeding, that for certain *just and lawful causes*, lately brought under his cognizance, the Archbishop, after full investigation, and with the advice of Counsel learned in the law, pronounced the pretended marriage "*always to have been without effect.*" It is undoubtedly a very strange and unaccountable circumstance, that these "*just and lawful causes*" are not specified on the face of this record; and that, to this hour, they have never been discovered[1]. But—whatever those causes may have been,—that Cranmer approached the consideration of them with an aching heart, is nothing more than will be readily inferred, by all generous minds, from the undoubted kindliness and humanity of his temper. At the same time, it is far from impossible that he may have been partially reconciled to his most unwelcome office, by the hope that the very degradation of Anne might eventually relieve her from the penalty of death: for his sentence would change her condition from that of a treason-

[1] Wilkin's Concil. vol. iii. pp. 803, 804.—"Though the Judges and the Court seemed abundantly satisfied in the reasons of this nullity, yet concealing the same unto themselves, they thought not fit to communicate the same treasure unto posterity: *except they shut their coffers on purpose, because there was nothing in them!*"—Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. v. p. 207.

It is not improbable that Anne may have been induced to allow that there were such "*just and lawful causes,*" (whether they existed or not), as a condition of perishing by the axe instead of the flames.

able Consort, to the much less dangerous one of a fickle and unfaithful mistress. If, however, he was supported under his duty by any such expectation, the delusion speedily vanished. Having established, by this judgment, that Anne never was his wife *de jure*, the King nevertheless persisted in inflicting the punishment due to treason, for misdeeds alleged to have been committed by her, while she was merely his wife *de facto!* Under these circumstances—though he did not consign his victim to the tortures of the stake—yet, he did deliver to the axe of the executioner that form of loveliness, which had so long been *the desire of his eyes*. And, in so doing, he has placed himself among the foremost candidates for the execration of mankind.

The King marries his third wife, Jane Seymour.

On the very day which followed the execution, he offered another atrocious insult to the commonest sensibilities of human nature, by leading Jane Seymour to the altar. This one act is a very sufficient commentary on all that went before. It shows, beyond all doubt, that his jealousy of Anne came in as opportunely to the aid of his desires, as his scruples respecting Catharine. Had he been anxious to proclaim to the world the principal cause of his late savage precipitation, he could not have more effectually accomplished his purpose, than by this audacious violation of decency [1].

[1] "After ages," as Fuller observes, "take the boldness to conceive, that the greatest guilt of Anne Boleyn was King Henry's better fancying of another; which made him *mourn* so passionately for her, in the embraces of a new and beautiful bride, the Lady Jane Seymour."—Ch. Hist. B. v. p. 208.

The intelligence of these events was received throughout Europe with an universal murmur of astonishment and disgust. It was enough to bring almost indelible disgrace upon the very name of the Reformation. It placed the man himself among the number of those, whose lives have shown to the world what capacities of evil are lurking in the human heart. And, lastly, it proved that of all the curses which can befall our nature, none is so bitter as that of being surrendered to its own ungoverned impulses.

CHAPTER VI.

1536—1537.

New Act for the Succession—Act for renouncing the power of the Pope—Meeting of Convocation—Debates there—The Address of Alexander Aless—Articles agreed upon—Which are unsatisfactory both to Papists and Protestants—Injunctions issued in the King's name—The Bible to be placed in Churches—Declaration of the Divines respecting Councils—Protestation of the King against the Council then summoned—The "Bishops' Book"—Cranmer's interview with an ignorant Priest who had reviled him—Reluctant obedience to the Injunctions—Cranmer's Letter to Cromwell on this subject—Matthew's Bible—Cranmer's joy at its publication—Birth of Edward VI., and death of Jane Seymour.

THE death of Anne Boleyn revived for a moment, at Rome, the hope of accommodation with the King,—and but for a moment. But, though it was soon found that the breach was wholly irreparable, the Parliament, which assembled in June, presented to the world an aspect of unanimity so formidable, as to put down all hope of successful aggression. This appearance of concord, however, indicated only an uniformity of servitude. The violent collision of parties had wholly disabled the Legislature for opposition to the King; and had left them little but the power of registering all the wild sug-

gestions of his caprice and jealousy. A new Act of Succession was accordingly passed, which limited the Crown to the issue of Jane, or any future Queen. And, that the subjects of his Majesty might be relieved from all temptation to perplex themselves with discussions on the matter, the penalties of high treason were affixed to the crime of affirming either of his first marriages to be valid, or either of his daughters legitimate! At the same time, a power was reserved to him, of declaring the succession at his pleasure, either by patent, or by will; and an opening was thus left for the descent of the Crown to either of his degraded children.

New Act for the Succession.

By the same Parliament was finally and completely extinguished the authority of the Bishop of Rome. The Act passed for this purpose, imposed on all officers, Ecclesiastical or Civil, the necessity of renouncing upon oath the power of the Pope; and, with strange inconsistency, it subjected only to a *Præmunire* all positive acts in maintenance of that power, while it punished the refusal to abjure it with the penalties of high treason[1]. By this consummation, the royal prerogative was rendered complete and unassailable. Nearly the whole authority which formerly belonged to the Pope, appeared now to be transferred, in a body, to the Crown: and, guarded as it was by the severity of the law, it presented a spectacle of domina-

Act for renouncing the power of the Pope.

[1] 28 Henry VIII. c. 10.

tion more compact and solid, than Europe had ever beheld since the days of Constantine. Had this concentration of power remained in its full integrity, it might have been fatal to the expansion of our liberties. The lapse of time, however, and the gradual influence of better principles, have shorn this tremendous prerogative of a large portion of its strength. To us, the royal supremacy is, perhaps, principally valuable as a negation of all foreign jurisdiction. In the eye of the Constitution, the English nation is one great Christian society, of which their own monarch is the first magistrate; and, in that character, is charged with the duty of superintending, not merely the secular affairs, but the religious interests and obligations, of his people. And dark, indeed, will be the hour,—if ever it should arrive,—which shall witness an utter disruption of this union between the sacred and the temporal offices of the Sovereign.

Meeting of the Convocation.

The next day after the meeting of Parliament, the Convocation was opened by the Archbishop. In the course of a few days, Cromwell appeared there; and, as representative of the King, and Supreme Ordinary of the Church, assumed a rank above all[1] the Ecclesiastics present. The first proceeding of this assembly was, likewise, remarkable for its unanimity. The record of the late Queen's divorce was produced by the Vicegerent, and it was sanctioned without the slightest opposi-

[1] *Deformi satis spectaculo!* says Godwin, Ann. 1536.

tion[1]. The rest of the proceedings were much more tempestuous. The Papal party were animated to a trial of their strength, by the removal of the Protestant Queen. A long list was produced by the Popish Prolocutor, Gwent, of no less than 67 Articles[2], containing certain opinions and phrases then current in society. Several of these were tinctured with the coarsest extravagance of Lollardism, and gave a ludicrous and offensive, and sometimes even a dangerous exposition, of various Romish usages and doctrines. The three last articles complained of "slanderous books, and erroneous doctrines," and were obviously levelled at the Primate,

Debates in the Convocation.

[1] "The instrument of the divorce," says Fuller, "was no sooner tendered, than all subscribed it. The Papists willingly, the Protestants faintly, but all publicly. Yea, in this Convocation nothing was propounded in the King's name, but it passed presently. Oh! the operation of the purge of a *præmunire*, so lately taken by the Clergy, and 100,000*l*. paid thereupon! How did the remembrance thereof still work upon their spirits, and made them meek and mortified! They knew the temper of the King, and had read the text, *The lion hath roared; who will not fear?* Gardiner, the fox, durst not so much as bark to oppose the King, nor the proudest in the place. As for Edmund Boner, Archdeacon of Leicester, present and active in this Convocation, I may say, *Boner* was *no Boner* as yet, but a perfect Cromwellist, and as forward as any to promote his designs." Church Hist. b. v. p. 208.

[2] The whole of these 67 items are printed in Fuller, b. v. pp. 209—212. And the historian exclaims, "The reader hath no sooner perused these opinions, than he may conceive himself to have put his hand into Jeremie's basket of figs; *those that are good, exceeding good; those that are bad, exceeding bad.*"

and his reforming Bishops. The conflict which followed was fierce and obstinate. But it ended in the partial discomfiture of the Romanists. The Archbishop was indefatigable; and his influence with the King was then happily unimpaired, even by the death of his Royal Patroness and friend. The strength of that influence may reasonably be inferred from the appearance of the Vicegerent in the Convocation, and by his express and reiterated declaration there, of the King's pleasure, that the existing controversies respecting the Christian faith, should be determined *solely* by the rules of Scripture, to the utter rejection of the glosses of schoolmen, the decrees of Popes, or any traditional and *unwritten verities*. Immediately after the delivery of this manifesto, the disputation commenced. In utter disregard of the royal injunction, Stokesley, Bishop of London, began to expatiate, throughout the whole region of "*unwritten verities*," in vindication of the Seven Sacraments of the Romish Church. He was followed by the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Lincoln, Bath, Chichester, and Norwich; and was opposed by the Primate, together with the Bishops of Salisbury, Ely, Hereford, and Worcester, and various others, who contended for the paramount authority of Scripture. In spite of all that could be done, the controversy overflowed the barriers fixed by the royal mandate. The Scriptures were forgotten, and the "testimony of the ancient doctors" became the grand subject of discussion. The Archbishop, perceiving that the deliberations were assuming far too much of a polemic cha-

racter, gravely reminded the Synod, that to brawl about words was the property of sophisters, whose delight is in dissension and debate, rather than of them which seek the glory of Christ, and the unity and quietness of his Church. He admonished them of the vast importance of the points then under consideration; he contended that an adherence to the written Word was the only expedient for avoiding discord; he inculcated the necessity of first ascertaining the meaning of a Sacrament, and then of considering its application to the rites of Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord; and he concluded by a wise and salutary caution against that vague and indefinite use of the word, which, though recommended by the usage of ancient fathers, had been productive of nothing but uncertainty and confusion.

The Address of Alexander Aless to the Convocation.

When the Primate had finished this seasonable address, the Vicegerent turned to Alexander Aless, and desired him to deliver his sentiments on the subject of the sacraments. This invitation must, doubtless, have excited great astonishment in the assembly; for the individual in question was not a member of their body. He was a learned and pious Scotchman, who had been hospitably entertained by Cranmer, and who had now accompanied Cromwell to the Convocation, and had been introduced by him as a King's scholar[1], and therefore entitled to their

[1] Any person was called a King's Scholar who received a pension from the royal bounty, to aid him in the prosecution of his

respectful notice and attention. Whatever might be the reluctance of the Divines to listen to the counsels of this unexpected *amicus curiæ*, the suggestion of the Vicegerent was not to be resisted. Aless accordingly rose, and asked the meeting whether, by a sacrament, they understood a ceremony instituted by Christ, to signify "a singular and special virtue of the Gospel, or any ceremony which might be a token or signification of a holy thing?" If the latter were their meaning, he allowed that there might be not only seven sacraments, but almost as many as they might be pleased to number. But if the former were the true sense of the word, he contended with Augustine, and other ancient doctors, that baptism and the supper of the Lord, were the only two ceremonies which were clearly entitled to the dignity of a sacrament.

To this intolerable doctrine Stokesley listened with manifest symptoms of impatience; and the debate began to wax hot and angry. But the intrepid Scot was not to be put down. "Think not," he said, "that sophistry can now steal out of the world the light which every man doth see. The Scriptures are now better known to the laity than they are to many of us. The labours of the Germans have rescued the sacred text from the bondage of commentary and tradition; so that women and children may now

studies. Thus Preston, the comely disputant of Cambridge in 1563, received 20*l*. a-year from the Queen, and was called her scholar. Fuller, Hist. Camb. p. 139.

wonder at the blindness and falsehood which have hitherto prevailed. Unless, therefore, ye would brave the scorn and mockery of the world, and court the opinion that there is not in you one spark of learning or of godliness, it behoves you to consider well the controversies now in agitation. The time may have been when the Papal power was strong enough to quench the fiercest fires of *heretical* opposition. But that day is now gone by. The period is now arrived, when all the arts of rhetoric, and all the force of authority, must bow before the supremacy of Truth." He was, then, proceeding to establish, by Scriptural arguments, his own opinions respecting the nature of a sacrament, when he was interrupted by the inflexible Stokesley, who treated with high disdain the notion that, "there is none other word of God but that which every cobbler may read in his mother tongue." And in this strain he persevered, till the Vicegerent, the Archbishop, and all the Prelates of his party, could not forbear to smile upon each other, "forasmuch as they saw him flee, even in the very beginning of the disputation, into his old rusty sophistry, and *unwritten verities.*" At this crisis, Cromwell found it necessary to interfere, as the time was fast wearing away; upon which, Aless concluded with the protestation that, if he could prove that the Christian faith was to be found only in the Bible, then it must be granted that there could be no sacraments but those which have the manifest word of God to confirm them. And this

being assented to by the Vicegerent, the debate was adjourned till the following day[1].

The Anti-Protestant Bishops were in such fiery indignation at the intrusion of a stranger into their counsels, that even the King's Vicar-General thought it imprudent to exasperate them further by a repetition of the experiment. The Scotchman was, therefore, desired to digest his thoughts on paper. With this injunction he immediately complied; and his treatise was then submitted by Cromwell to the consideration of the assembly. The result of their deliberations was the adoption of certain articles, which are highly important, as exhibiting the Christianity of England in its transition towards the Protestantism of the present day. The first five of these articles contain the essentials of the true religion, though with some considerable admixture of the ancient superstition. They maintain that every thing is to be received as true which

Articles agreed upon.

[1] See Foxe, Eccl. Biog. vol. ii. pp. 303—316. Foxe's account of these debates is taken from a tract composed by Aless soon after, and addressed by him to the Duke of Saxony. Its title is —"Of the auctoritie of the word of God, against the Bishop of London, wherein are contayned several certen disputations had in the Parlement house, [Convocation ?] between the Bishops, abowt the nomber of the sacraments, and other things, very necessary to be known." Aless had lived much with the German Divines, especially Melancthon. He was invited into England from Antwerp, by Cromwell and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was "lovingly received" not only by them, but also by the King himself. Ibid. p. 303, note 4.

is comprehended in the Canon of the Bible, and in the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian creeds. They affirm that baptism is a sacrament necessary to salvation; and that it may be administered to infants, who thereby receive the Holy Ghost, "which purifieth them from sin by his most secret virtue and operation." Respecting the sacrament of the altar, they declare "that, under the *form and figure* of bread and wine, is verily, substantially, and really, contained and comprehended, the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ." All the arguments of Aless, supported as they seem to have been by Cromwell, and by Cranmer, were unable to exclude Penance from the number of the sacraments; for the articles pronounce it to be instituted by Christ, and necessary to salvation. It is said to consist of contrition, confession to a priest, and amendment of life. It is, moreover, affirmed that such confession is essentially needful, wherever it is practicable; and that sacerdotal absolution is instituted by Christ himself, "to apply the promises of God's grace and favour to the penitent." The other four sacraments are omitted altogether. Lastly, Justification is defined to signify "the remission of our sins, and our acceptance or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God[1]; "and

[1] This would appear to be a translation from the following words of Melancthon: "Justificatio significat remissionem peccatorum, et reconciliationem, seu acceptationem personæ, ad vitam æternam." Loci Theolog. de Gratiâ et Justif. See Archbishop Laurence's Bampton Lect., notes, p. 199.

is pronounced to be the gift of God, "promised freely unto us for the sake of Jesus Christ, and the merits of his blood and passion, *as the only sufficient and worthy causes thereof.*" The five remaining articles relate to "the laudable ceremonies used in the Church of Christ." They allow the use of images, as "*kindlers*" of devotion; they teach that saints may be honoured as "the elect persons of Christ," and as "the advancers of our prayers and demands unto Him;" they admit that it is laudable to call upon the saints "to pray *for us, and with us*, to Almighty God;" and they maintain that rites and ceremonies are "good and laudable, to put us in remembrance of spiritual things." The last of these five supplemental articles relates to purgatory, and asserts on the authority of the Book of Maccabees, that it is a good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed; and that "no man ought to be grieved with the continuance of the same:" but it allows that "the place where they be, and the name thereof, and the nature of the pains there, be uncertain by Scripture." And it repudiates distinctly the notion, that the Bishop of Rome's pardons could deliver souls from purgatory, and send them straight to heaven[1].

The publication of these articles may justly be considered as the sunrise of our *doctrinal* Reforma-

[1] The most correct copy of these articles is to be found in "The Formularies of Faith, put forth by authority during the reign of Henry VIII.," as edited by Bishop Lloyd; Oxford, 1825, pp. 15—32.

tion. A doubtful and "malignant twilight [1]," was all that could hitherto be discerned. But, from that moment, it continued to move upwards to the meridian, though frequently struggling through darkness and tempest. This memorable document was entitled—"Articles devised by the King's Highness, to stablish Christian quietness and unity, and to avoid contentious opinions." In the Preface to it the King declares that he had, "*in his own person*, bestowed much labour and study" on the subject: but there can be little doubt that the mind of Cranmer was more active in their preparation, than that of the Royal Theologian. Almost the only *unmitigated* Romish error which they retain, is that which relates to the Sacrament of the Altar; and this was precisely the doctrine which is known, at that time, to have exercised its full dominion over the understanding of the Archbishop himself. In those articles which seem to acknowledge certain tenets of Romanism, little more than the name of the doctrine is preserved, while the principle of it is almost neutralized, and rendered innocuous. It is highly probable that the spurious ingredient would have been far more copious, had the work been exclusively achieved by Henry himself, and his more Popish Prelates. There is one circumstance which seems, more especially, to indicate the hand of the Primate,—namely, the support of doctrine by reference to Scripture; a practice which, as we have seen, he was always anxious

[1] "Lux maligna."

to substitute for the ancient habit of reliance on the judgment of canonists and schoolmen. A Formulary, which professed to derive no authoritative sanction from Pontifical decrees or Ecclesiastical traditions, was, itself, one triumphant step towards the establishment of a pure and Scriptural scheme of Faith.

The articles unsatisfactory to Papists and Protestants.

The first reception of these articles by the public, was precisely what might have been anticipated from their somewhat motley complexion. They gave general satisfaction neither to Papists nor Reformers. The celebrated *Interim* of Charles V. was not, afterwards, condemned with more unsparing bitterness. It is, nevertheless, indisputable that, although the conflict was by no means decisive, it placed the cause of Protestantism in a more advanced position than before, and was ominous of final defeat to that of Romanism[1]. The promulgation of the articles was

[1] "Some zealots of our age may condemn the *Laodicean* temper of the Protestant Bishops..... Such men see the faults of Reformers, but not the difficulties of Reformation.... Our Saviour himself did, at the first, connive at the carnality of his Apostles, and would *not put new wine into old wine-skins, for fear of bursting*. Yea, he had some commandments, which, as yet, *they were unable to bear;* and therefore, till they *could* bear them, his wisdom did *bear* with *them*." See Fuller, (b. v. p. 213) by whom the Articles were first transcribed from the Acts of the Convocation, to show "by what degrees the Gospel insinuated itself into the minds of men." And he adds, "Seeing Popery began, even now, to reel and stagger, within a few years we shall have it tumble down, and lie prostrate, with the face thereof at the footstool of Truth." Ibid.

See also Burnet, vol. i. p. 218.

followed, in the course of this year, by certain injunctions, issued by Cromwell, in the name of the King, but also, most probably, compiled by the Archbishop. By these injunctions, a number of superfluous holidays were abolished,—a change which tended greatly to the promotion of industry, and the improvement of morals. It was further ordered that the Royal Supremacy should be inculcated from the pulpit; that the people should be instructed in the articles recently agreed to by the Convocation, and in the distinction between those which were articles of faith, and those which related merely to discipline and order; that the superstitious use of images, and the practice of pilgrimages, should be actively discouraged; that the people should be exhorted to teach their children the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, *in English;* that the Sacraments should be reverently administered, and that absent incumbents should appoint none but able and learned Curates; that the Clergy should abstain from needless resort to *taverns and ale-houses,* and from all idle and disreputable games; (a regulation which speaks volumes respecting the degraded condition of the Parochial Ministers;) that all beneficed men, who could spend 20*l.* a year and more, should give *one-fortieth* to the poor; and that they who could spend 100*l.* or more, should maintain a scholar on exhibition at the University, for each 100*l.* of their income; that a fifth part of that income should be bestowed on decayed mansions and chancels, and

Injunctions issued in the name of the King.

that those buildings should be always maintained in sufficient repair. But, perhaps, the most important of all these injunctions was that which ordered that every parson or proprietary of a Church should provide a Bible, in Latin and English, to be laid in the choir, for every one to read at his pleasure. This permission was, however, accompanied by certain salutary precautions. The people were duly admonished against the danger of entanglement in controversial niceties, and were directed, whenever they were involved in difficulty, to extricate themselves,—not by a presumptuous reliance on their own sagacity,—but by application to instructors of competent learning and unblemished character[1].

The Bible to be placed in Churches.

Nothing, according to our notions, could be more reasonable, or more indispensable, than most of these regulations. They were, nevertheless, miserably unpopular among a considerable portion of the Clergy. They were issued without the sanction of the Convocation; and thence it was concluded, that the Church was to be enslaved by the Vicar General. They enforced a manifest change of religious doctrine; and this brought upon the King the charge of inconsistency and bad faith. They increased the labours, and burdened the resources, of the parochial

[1] These injunctions are printed in Burnet, b. iii. Rec. 7.—Wilk. Conc. vol. iii. p. 815.—Coll. vol. ii. p. 129.—But I find this injunction respecting the Bible to be placed in Churches, in Collier *only*.

incumbents; and therefore they were resented as intolerably oppressive. And thus, for a time, they converted many Ecclesiastics into preachers of rebellion. These, however, were difficulties such as must often stand in the way, for adversaries, against the most needful measures of amelioration. We, who are mere spectators of the commotion, are at leisure to admire the calm address and sedate firmness of the mind which presided over these movements. If a man like Cranmer had not been in possession of Henry's confidence, what, in all human probability, would have been the ten Articles? If the somewhat coarse energy of Cromwell had been without similar guidance, where would have been the wise and enlightened spirit of these salutary, though unwelcome, injunctions?

It was scarcely to be supposed, that doctrinal changes like these, especially when prepared under the royal sanction, would escape the censures of the General Council, which had then been summoned to assemble, and at which Henry had been cited to appear. Being now firmly determined not to prosecute his appeal to that assembly, he was anxious to fortify himself in this resolution by the authority of his Convocation. It was, accordingly, the last act of their session, to prepare a public declaration of their judgment, that the King was absolved from all necessity of submitting to the decision of a Synod, such as would probably be collected under the Papal mandate. The paper in question is signed by Cromwell, by the

Declaration of the Divines respecting Councils.

Archbishop, and thirteen Bishops, and by forty-nine other dignitaries and Divines: and, though it is not known, it may not unreasonably be conjectured, from the tenor of the composition, that it was the work of Cranmer himself, or at least that it was prepared under his superintendence. This document begins with a full acknowledgment of the usefulness and efficacy of Councils, when assembled according to the "godly institution and usage of the primitive Church;" but it contends that nothing could be more pestilent and pernicious to the peace of Christendom, than such assemblies, when made subsidiary to private malice, or worldly ambition: and this sentiment it confirms by the authority of Gregory of Nazianzum, who declared that, in his experience, they rather aggravated than assuaged the distempers of the Church. It then proceeds to point out the various circumstances necessary to render such assemblies legitimate or beneficial; and concludes by affirming, that neither the Bishop of Rome, nor any one secular potentate on earth, has power to summon a General Council, without the express consent of all other Christian sovereigns[1].

Protestation of the King against the Council then summoned.

Armed with this solemn concurrence of his own Divines, the King immediately published a copious and very spirited Protestation against the Council now summoned to meet at Mantua, in which he declared that he would neither comply with the summons to that

[1] This paper is printed in Burnet, vol. i. b. iii. rec. 5. and in Collier, vol. ii. p. 128. Its date is 20th July, 1536.

Council, nor render any obedience to its decrees. He professed, however, that while he lived, *he would adhere to the faith and doctrine, which had always been embraced by the true and Catholic Church,—that he never would depart from the unity of that Church,*—and that he sought nothing but the glory of God, and the welfare and peace of the Christian world [1].

By this Protest, another serious wound was inflicted on the Papal dominion. Here was an express declaration on the part of the King of England, supported by the sanction of his Clergy, that separation from the Romish Church did *not* incur the guilt of schism ; and that a departure from *her* doctrines implied no heretical violation of the *Catholic* faith. But while Henry was thus effectually fortifying his cause against all " foreign levy," he was doomed to experience the evils of internal treason and rebellion. In the course of the present year, his kingdom began to taste the bitter fruits of his rapacity and precipitation. The seeds of discontent had been widely scattered, and they sprung up into a harvest of armed men. It falls not within our design, to relate the perilous disturbances which followed rapidly on the dissolution of the lesser monasteries, or the means by which the government effected the suppression of the revolt. We must, accordingly, pass over these scenes of convulsion and bloodshed, and hasten to the con-

[1] The King's Protestation, addressed " to the pious and Christian reader," may be found in Collier, vol. ii. Rec. No. 38.

tinuation of the Archbishop's peaceful labours. The articles and injunctions having failed to produce the full effect which was desired, it was thought advisable that the substance of them should be digested into the more popular form of a Treatise; and the result of this resolution was the compilation entitled "the Institution of a Christian man." It was better known among the people by the title of "the Bishops' Book," the compilation of it having been chiefly entrusted to the Primate, and various other Prelates, with whom were associated several eminent Divines of inferior rank. The work was carried on at Lambeth, under the superintendence of Cranmer. As Gardiner and Stokesley were on the Committee, it may be supposed that the composition was no very pacific task. No exertions were spared by them and their adherents, to impress their own *image and superscription* on the book. On the whole, however, they were overpowered by the Protestant party; and the design was executed in a manner, which at least implies no relapse towards the rejected perversions. The completion of it was probably hastened by the ravages of the plague, which was raging at the very doors of the Archbishop's palace. The volume was brought to a conclusion in July, and submitted by the Vicar General to the King, who kept it under consideration for several months, and inserted some corrections with his own hand. It was then returned to the Archbishop, who had the boldness to demur to several of the Royal emenda-

1537.

The "Bishops' Book."

tions. The letter in which he announces his presumption to Cromwell, is very much in the nature of *the soft answer which turneth away wrath*[1]; and it does not appear that the resentments of the supreme censor were at all excited by this interference with his judgment.

The work in question consists of an Exposition of the Creed, the *seven* Sacraments, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave Maria; to which are added two articles on Justification and Purgatory. It would be needless to present the reader with a full abstract of this composition[2], which principally embodies the doctrines already promulgated in the Articles of 1536, and in the Injunctions which speedily followed them. It will be sufficient to notice several more important particulars. In the first place, then, it professes to determine all things purely "according to the true meaning of Scripture," without reference to any other authority[3]. It affirms distinctly the corruption of our moral and reasonable faculties[4]. It exalts the propitiatory virtue of our

[1] It is printed in Strype's Cranmer, c. xiii.

[2] It is printed in Bishop Lloyd's edition of the Formularies, &c. pp. 23—210. Every one who peruses it will admit the justice of the following character of it, given by Dr. Wordsworth: "The book is exceedingly well and carefully composed, in a very pure and dignified style; and is altogether an illustrious monument of the achievements of Cranmer and his colleagues, against the intrigues and opposition of a party, formidable at once for their zeal, number, and power."—Eccl. Biog. vol. ii. p. 317, note 9.

[3] Pref. to the Instit. ibid. p. 26.

[4] Formul. p. 34.

Saviour's passion to its due office, to the rejection of all *meritorious dignity* in the works of man[1]. It leaves the sacrament of matrimony open to all classes of men, without exception; though it seems to recommend a state of celibacy as preferable, wherever it could be maintained, without overpowering temptation to sin[2]. In the acknowledgment of *seven* Sacraments, it seems to recede from the position taken up in the articles, which mention only *three*; but then it ascribes only a subordinate importance to the remaining *four*[3]. It excludes from the benefits of redemption all persons out of the pale of the *Catholic* Church; but it also proclaims that "the *Church of Rome*" is not, and cannot worthily be called, the *Catholic* Church, but only one particular member thereof; and that it cannot challenge any superiority over other Churches[4]." Lastly, to omit other particulars, it is remarkable for a strenuous inculcation of the doctrine of passive obedience. In the Exposition of the Decalogue, it speaks of Kings as responsible to God alone; and affirms that no resource but that of prayer is left to an oppressed people, however grievous may be their sufferings and provocations[5].

By this work the Reformation was placed on the

[1] Formul. p. 40. 42. 60. [2] Ib. p. 82, 88. [3] Ib. 128, 129.

[4] Ibid. p. 55.—Dr. Lingard affirms that it is *chiefly* remarkable for this declaration; but he has, somehow or other, forgotten to add the comprehensive sense in which it professes to understand the *Catholic* Church.—Ling. Hist. Engl. vi. 355.

[5] Formul. p. 153—159.

loftiest ground which it was ever destined to reach during the reign of Henry; on ground which, indeed, it was scarcely able fully to maintain. We have no means of ascertaining *precisely* how far it was removed from the highest point, to which the views and convictions of the Primate himself would at that time have enabled him to raise it, even had he been left to the amplest exercise of his own judgment. It would scarcely be possible to furnish the reader with any adequate conception of the toil and care, the address and vigilance, which the conduct of this undertaking must have exacted from Cranmer, without a larger transcription from existing documents than is consistent with our compendious design [1]. The preparation both of the Ten Articles, and of "the Institution of a Christian Man," must have cost him many a weary day, and many a restless night. The difficulty of guiding and animating his probably reluctant Master—and his perplexing course through the straits of theological discussion, (beset as they were like the fabled channel of old, with rocks which seemed at every instant ready to meet, and crush the navigator)—all this required a spirit of such meek and patient wisdom, as leads us reverently to surmise, that Providence must have specially prepared and endowed him for his work. Nothing can be more easy than to censure the timid and gradual extrication of the mind from the labyrinth of error. But

[1] See Burnet's Addenda to vol. i. and Rec. to the Addenda, No. 2, 3, 4, 5.

none will rave against this sort of prudence, but those, who know not the toil with which truth must always be sought,—more especially the groanings and the struggles with which it must be dug up, when buried beneath the sordid accumulation of centuries. As well might we expect the most *literal* fulfilment of the promise that *mountains should be cast into the sea* at the word of faith, as hope that religion should heave off, in an instant, the load which whole ages of ignorance had laid upon her.

It is scarcely worth while to notice minutely the petty opposition which was incessantly girding itself up in various quarters against the Archbishop, while these more momentous proceedings were in progress. Letters of his have recently been brought to light, which speak of such matters, and which might be fit for insertion in a more diffuse biography. We find, for instance, that a Chantry Priest neglected to remove the name of the Pope from the Liturgy of the Church; and that Cranmer thought it necessary to refer the matter to Cromwell, as a case of contumacious resistance to the Supremacy of the King. We also learn that Coverdale was scandalized at finding similar indications of disaffection at Newbray, and expressed his persuasion that the Papal authority had zealous advocates in many other places[1]. And, again, it appears that a half-witted Priest (who afterwards attempted to destroy himself under the

[1] Orig. MS. Chapter House at Westminster: cited in Todd's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 197, 198.

agonies of predestinarian despondency) had written in one of the Church-books the almost treasonable sentence, *Rex, tanquam tyrannus, opprimit populum suum.* Small incidents like these are valuable only as indicating the various currents which were setting in, to swell the tide of opposition to the progress of Reformation. There is one, however, among these subordinate occurrences, so strikingly characteristic of the time, and so honourable to the good sense and moderation of the Archbishop, that it would be improper to leave it unrelated. There was an ignorant Priest in the north of England, who was as weary of hearing the praises of Cranmer, as the patriotic Athenian was of being told of the justice of Aristides. He accordingly expressed his surprise that such commendations should be lavished upon one, who, after all, was originally but an *hostler*, and had no more learning than a goose. The patriot was speedily sent by the Council to digest his virtuous indignation in the Fleet: and the result of his ruminations there, was a humble petition to Cranmer for his gracious intercession. This produced an interview between the Archbishop and his slanderer; and the following was the tenor of their dialogue: "Did you ever see me before this day?" said the Primate. The Priest replied in the negative. "Why then," rejoined Cranmer, "did you call me an hostler, and report that I had no more learning than a gosling?" The reverend man confessed that, when he uttered those words, he

Cranmer's interview with an ignorant Priest, who had reviled him.

was "overseen with drink." "Well then," answered the Archbishop, "produce your own learning, and oppose me *now*. Begin in grammar, if you will; or else in Science or Divinity." The luckless Ecclesiastic declared, in sore discomfiture, that he had no manner of learning in the *Latin tongue;* his poor skill was entirely confined to English. "Be it so," said Cranmer, "you read the Bible of course. In plain English, then, who was David's Father?" The Priest professed that he was not just able to say. "Then perhaps you will inform me who was the Father of Solomon?" The respondent protested that "he was nothing at all seen in these *genealogies*." Upon this the Archbishop thought it high time to admonish the evil-speaker to abandon the company of men "who knew nothing, and *would* know nothing, but sat on the ale-bench, slandering all honest and learned men; and he warned him to dismiss the silly fancy that the King of England would despatch an hostler on an embassy to the Emperor and the Pope." The Vicar General was exceedingly indignant that this poor witless knave was not sent to St. Paul's Cross, to recant his stupid calumnies in public. The Archbishop knew better. He was aware that this man was not the first by many a hundred that had called him *hostler:* but he felt that he should richly deserve the title, if he could degrade himself by resenting their absurdities. He was deeply grieved, indeed, by the coarseness and ignorance of the men; but he conceived that the effects of their

folly upon his own character were very far beneath all serious notice [1].

A much heavier cause of annoyance to Cranmer was the reluctance manifested in his own diocese, to comply with the recent injunctions; those, more especially, which forbade the observance of superfluous holidays. He had himself endeavoured to secure the compliance of the people, by the influence of his personal example. His own cathedral had for ages been, perhaps, the most notorious scene of imposture and superstition in the kingdom; and he showed his anxiety to terminate such abuses by contemptuously disregarding both the vigil and the festival of Becket. But he was deeply grieved to find, not only that the people were unwilling to part with these idle and frivolous solemnities, but that their prejudices were fostered and encouraged by a considerable number of the Clergy; and his distress was aggravated by the fact, that the King's own Court was precisely the place in which the royal ordinances were most openly set at nought. This was an ominous and discouraging circumstance. It seemed to indicate that the eye of the King himself was complacently reverting to the practices of ancient days. The feelings of the Archbishop on the subject are strongly expressed by him in a letter which he addressed to Cromwell on the 28th of August, in this year. In this letter he

Reluctant obedience to the injunctions.

Cranmer's letter to Cromwell on this subject.

[1] See Strype's Cranmer, b. iii. c. xxxi.

declares his resolution to punish the refractory curates by deprivation; and to exact of them a presentment of all persons who should persevere in disobedience, either to the injunctions already published, or to any others which should be thereafter set forth "for the redress or ordering of the doctrine or ceremonies of the Church of England." He, moreover, declares his persuasion that much opposition, and contention might be avoided, if every Bishop were to resort to similar measures, and thus relieve the King and his Council from the invidious exercise of severity. Thus much was written by the hand of Cranmer's secretary. With his *own* hand he adds the following sentences: "But, my lord, if in the Court you do keep such holy days, and fasting days, as be abrogated, when shall we persuade the people to cease from keeping them? For the King's own house shall be an example unto all the realm, to break his own ordinances[1]." The courage of this remonstrance could be surpassed only by the delicacy and discretion which thus guarded it from the eye of the Primate's amanuensis.

Matthew's Bible.

In the midst of these distractions, the hopes of the Archbishop were brightened by one joyful and most important occurrence. While he was residing at his house at Ford, near Canterbury, an impression of the whole Bible in English was completed, under his patronage, by two enterprising publishers, Grafton and Whitchurch. It

[1] Strype's Cranmer, App. No. 19.

appeared in one great folio volume, known by the title of Matthew's Bible. This name, however, was undoubtedly fictitious. The translation was partly executed by Tyndale, and partly by Coverdale; but, Tyndale having suffered martyrdom in Flanders, it was thought prudent to conceal from the public the real authors of the work, and to send it forth under a name untainted with the odour of heresy. The printing was conducted abroad, probably at Hamburgh. The corrector of the whole was John Rogers, the proto-martyr of the Marian persecution. The volume was provided with prologues and annotations, chiefly relating to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the marriage of priests, and the sacrifice of the mass; all of which were so offensive to the Romish party, that afterwards, during the period of their ascendency, they effected the suppression of these *heretical* commentaries.

Cranmer's joy at its publication.

The exultation of Cranmer at the accomplishment of this great undertaking, is warmly expressed by him in two letters to Cromwell; in one of which, he renders to the Vicegerent his hearty thanks, for presenting a copy of this Bible to the King, and obtaining his Majesty's permission for its sale and circulation; and declares that the event had afforded him more gratification than he could have derived from the gift of a thousand pounds. In the other of these letters, he repeats the expression of his gratitude to Cromwell. For these good offices with the King, on this occasion, "your lordship," he writes, "shall have a perpetual

laud and memory of all them that be now, or hereafter shall be, God's faithful people, and the favourers of his word. And this deed you shall hear of, at the great day, when all things shall be opened and made manifest[1]." It will be remembered that Cranmer himself had already been authorized by the King to conduct and forward a translation of the Scriptures, and that the attempt had been embarrassed by the factious opposition of Stokesley. The other persons associated with the Archbishop for this purpose, were less untractable; but still, it seems, their diligence was outstripped by that of independent adventurers; and Cranmer, anxious only for the success of the cause, beheld with unmixed satisfaction the appearance of a version which superseded his own labours, and those of his tardy or reluctant brethren.

12th Oct. Birth of Edward VI. and death of Jane Seymour.

This year was rendered further memorable by the birth of an heir to the English Crown. By this event the nation was relieved from the protracted anxiety and danger of a disputed succession. For the first time in the reign of Henry,—now extended to eight-and-twenty years,—they were blessed with an heir apparent of unquestioned legitimacy. The universal satisfaction diffused by this blessing, was, however, clouded by the death of the Queen, which happened shortly after her delivery. She had borne her honours with incomparable meekness and discretion, and had both

[1] Strype's Cranmer, b. i. c. 15. The first of these letters is dated Aug. 13, 1537. The other was written fifteen days later.

fixed the attachment of her royal husband, and won the esteem and confidence of his people. The name of Edward was given to the Prince at his baptism; and the sponsors were Archbishop Cranmer, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Lady Mary. His uncle, Sir Edward Seymour, (who had recently been created Baron Beauchamp,) was, about the same time, advanced to the dignity of Earl of Hertford.

CHAPTER VII.

1538.

Suppression of the greater abbeys—Diocese of Hereford visited by Cranmer—Registers of baptisms, &c. introduced—Eagerness of the people to peruse the Bible—Honours of Thomas à Becket abolished—The Bull of excommunication issued—The dominions of Henry offered by the Pope to the King of Scotland—Declarations of the Bishops against the Pope—Address of Cranmer to the King for a further reformation—He pleads for the marriage of the Clergy—Approaching ascendency of the Romish party—Proclamation against the married Clergy—Arrival of Ambassadors from Germany—Cranmer endeavours to procure them a conference with the English Divines—His efforts defeated—Disappointment of the Germans—Intrigues of Gardiner, &c.—Proceedings against Lambert—Cranmer still a believer in the Popish doctrine of the sacrament—Lambert is brought before Cranmer, and appeals to the King—His trial—Moderation of Cranmer in disputing with Lambert—Condemnation and execution of Lambert—Burning of two Anabaptists—Intrigues of Pole—Increasing influence of the Romanists.

1538. THE confiscation of monastic property, which commenced in 1535, was carried on in 1538, and completed in the following year. The suppression of a large portion of the religious houses had produced insurrection; and insurrection had, in its turn, produced a resolution to effect, without further delay, the suppression of the

rest. It was now discovered that monasteries were, indeed, become nurseries of disaffection, and that monks were the loudest trumpeters of rebellion. Even Stokesley, that inflexible advocate of the Romish doctrines, was a decided enemy to these fortresses of the Papal power. He remarked that the lesser monasteries (which were chiefly in possession of the mendicant orders) might be compared to thorns, which were easily plucked up; that the greater abbeys resembled oaks, which, even in their decay, were deeply rooted in the earth; that, nevertheless, their destruction was inevitable; and that a similar fate must, eventually, befall every other institution of the same kind in Christendom[1]. Accordingly, in 1537, a second general visitation commenced; and in 1539 the work of spoliation was completed by a statute, which provided that, "all monasteries, or other religious houses, dissolved, suppressed, surrendered, or forfeited, or by any other means come to the King's Highness, should be vested in him, his heirs and successors, for ever[2]."

Suppression of the greater abbeys.

[1] Burnet, b. iii.

[2] 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13. I have not thought it advisable to interrupt the narrative by any detailed relation of a series of transactions so generally well known. There is a very luminous account of them in Mr. Soames' History of the Reformation, c. v. p. 51—76, and c. viii. p. 255—300: and a very able summary of the same proceedings may be found in the eighth chapter of the "Sketch of the Reformation in England, by the Rev. I. J. Blunt. 1832."

It would be hopeless, at this day, to attempt any precise estimate of the treasure, which this great revolution of property placed at the disposal of Henry. It was probably much less than he expected: for the greater Abbots had taken warning from the first suppression. In spite of the plausible protestations of the King, they foresaw that their own condemnation was sealed; and many of them employed the interval that followed, in converting the tangible wealth of their houses into money, and in securing ample fines for the renewal of leases at a trifling rent. The remaining funds were, nevertheless, abundantly sufficient to aggravate Henry's natural tendency to profusion: and, unhappily, the counsels of his Vicegerent were in the strictest harmony with his Majesty's personal inclinations. It was suggested by the policy of that Minister, that the spoils of the Church might be largely employed in building up an interest, which should form a strong embankment against the future reflux of Monachism, and, with it, of imminent danger to the Royal Supremacy. And the consequence of this advice was, a more general and sudden advancement of private families to commanding opulence, than had ever been witnessed since the days of the Norman Conquest. The booty which was poured into the Royal exchequer, was often scattered abroad with the wildest caprice[1]. It was to no purpose that Cran-

[1] Of this, several vile instances are recorded. He made a grant to a gentleman of a religious house for gratifying his royal

mer protested against the practice of rending and contaminating what had been consecrated by the fervent, though mistaken piety, of former ages. In vain did he and Latimer, during the present and the following reign, lift up their voice, and implore that the wealth of the Church should still be devoted to purposes analogous to those for which it had been originally granted. It has been already stated, that, if he, and men like him, had been listened to, the old and corrupt foundations would have been transformed into seminaries of education for the Clergy; a better maintenance would have been provided for the poorer incumbents; Bishopricks would have been multiplied in number; and some houses would have been preserved as retreats of learning and devotion [1]. But his words were as the murmurs of *them that dream*, in the ear of sacrilege. All they could extort was the application of a part of these vast funds to the establishment of some few additional Bishoprics. Just enough was done to cast a flimsy disguise

palate with a savoury dish of puddings. He gambled away several thousands a year of the monastic plunder. And a fine ring of bells were lost by him at a single throw to Sir Miles Partridge. All this, and much more of the same kind, was done by Henry: but all this was a mere trifle, compared with the irreparable mischief occasioned by the sale, or gift, or lease, of the Abbey lands to worthless courtiers, sometimes to cooks and turnspits, and even to the *functionary* whose business it was to set the Royal chair at a convenient distance from the fire! Fuller, b. vi. p. 336, 337. Coll. vol. ii. p. 166.

[1] Burnet, vol. i. p. 301; vol. ii. p. 8, 9.

over the prodigality of the Sovereign, and the cupidity of his courtiers. The work of rapine still drove furiously on. The Harpies of revolution were on the wing. They descended on the table which had been spread by the pious liberality of ancient days; and, if they had been wholly without restraint, would have left absolutely nothing "unrifled, unravaged, and unpolluted." The sins of that generation, as we shall hereafter perceive, eventually found them out, and have, ever since, been lying in wait for their posterity. The wind was sown, and the tempest, of course, was reaped: and it may be doubted whether the harvest is even yet fully gathered in!

It is a relief to turn away from the business of demolition, to the contemplation of more useful and honourable labours. In the summer of the present year, the diocese of Hereford, then vacant by the death of Fox, was visited by the Archbishop; and certain regulations were issued by him to the Clergy of the diocese, enforcing the observance of the Royal injunctions of 1536, and directing,—in conformity with a recent proclamation to that effect [1],—that, by the first day of August, they should procure a copy of the Bible, or at least the Testament, in Latin and English; that they should study a chapter every day, comparing the Latin and the English together; and that they should encourage the laity to do the same, for the amendment of their lives. They

Diocese of Hereford visited by Cranmer.

[1] Strype's Cranmer, App. No. 23.

further ordered that no friar should be allowed to officiate in their Churches without a dispensation or licence from the Ordinary, (a most important and salutary provision;) that no young person should be admitted to the Sacrament, who could not repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments; and, lastly, that bans of marriage should be published twice every quarter, and that private contracts of matrimony should, on no account, be made[1]. In the September following, a new series[2] of Royal Injunctions was issued by the Vicar General, for the further establishment of the Reformation. They begin by a peremptory demand of obedience to the former injunctions, which had been notoriously neglected. They renew the order for placing the Bible in Churches for the perusal of the people; they direct that the laity should be carefully taught to recite the Pater-Noster, Belief, and the Decalogue, in English; that they should be instructed to cast away all affiance in superstitious works, and exhorted to deeds of charity and faith. They prescribe that every one should be presented to the Council, or to the Vicegerent, who should presume to resist these injunctions or uphold the authority of the Bishop of Rome. They prohibit all superstitious observance of images or relicks; and they expressly ordain that

Royal Injunctions.

[1] Burnet, b. iii. Rec. 12.

[2] Burnet, b. iii. Rec. 11. The proper order of these two Records has been inverted by Burnet.

the commemoration of Thomas à Becket should be altogether discontinued. They are, further, remarkable for the introduction of one most important and useful practice,—that of recording all Baptisms, Weddings, and Funerals, in Parochial Registers.

Registers of Baptisms, &c. introduced.

It is, perhaps, scarcely possible for us to imagine the eagerness with which the people availed themselves of the liberty thus offered them, by the repeated declarations of the King, to consult the Sacred Volume for themselves. The impatience they manifested may, *in part*, be ascribed to mere curiosity. Men were naturally anxious to examine the writings which had been for ages so jealously locked up from their inspection. Nothing, however, but a higher motive can account for the universal rush to the fountain of living waters, the moment it was unsealed. Every one that could, purchased the book: and if he was unable to read it himself, he got his neighbour to read it to him. Numbers might be seen flocking to the lower end of the Church, and forming a little congregation round the *Scripture reader*. Many persons, far advanced in life, actually learned to read, for the express purpose of searching the Oracles of God: and one instance has been recorded of a poor boy, only fifteen years of age, who voluntarily incurred the same toil, and then joined his stock with a brother apprentice for the purchase of a Testament, which he concealed under the bed-straw, and perused at stolen moments, undismayed by the reproaches

Eagerness of the people to peruse the Bible.

of his mother, and the brutal violence of his father [1]. Nay, such was the general excitement, that, at last, the tavern and the ale-house often became the scenes of religious discussion. The King found it necessary to discourage, by his Proclamation, these unseemly debates; and to enjoin a reference to learned and authorized teachers, on all questions of difficulty or doubt [2].

Honours of Thomas à Becket abolished.

Another important article in these injunctions was the abolition of the honours of the Saint of Canterbury. For the greater part of four centuries [3], the credulity of England had been heaping wealth and splendour on the shrine of this pride of the Romish Calendar. That monument of the national folly had, of course, sunk under the assault which was levelling the monasteries, and consigning to the owls and the bats the whole apparatus of superstition. The bones of the martyr had been dislodged from their sacred repose, and were partly burnt, and partly mixed with the vulgar relics of mortality. The wealth which loaded his altar had been transferred to the Royal treasury, in two ponderous chests; and his very name was now expunged from the catalogue of holy men. By this profanation, together with the meditated destruction of the religious houses, the measure of Henry's iniquities was filled up; and the Pope, who

[1] Strype's Cranmer, b. i. c. 17.
[2] Ibid. Append. No. 23.
[3] Becket was murdered in the year 1170.

had for three years suspended the thunderbolt, now launched it against the head of the incorrigible heretic. The exhumation of Becket's remains[1], distinguished as they were by innumerable miracles,—the sacrilegious pillage of his Chapel,—the ejection of the monks from his Church,—and the introduction of "*wild beasts*" in their place,—all these are denounced by the Pontiff as atrocities far surpassing the wickedness of Saracens. He therefore resolved that the sentence of excommunication should finally go forth; and he threatened all who should infringe or resist it, with the wrath of Almighty God, and of the blessed Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul[2].

The Bull of Excommunication issued.

The Pontiff having thus pronounced the forfeiture of Henry's dominions, proceeded to offer them to the King of Scotland. To this Prince he accordingly addressed a Brief, in which he declared the King to be a heretic, a schismatic, a manifest adulterer, and convicted of treason against him, the Pope his Lord; and he therefore invited the Monarch of Scotland to invade and seize his kingdom. But the weapons of the Vatican had now, evidently, lost much of their keenness and their weight: at all events, the King was

The dominions of Henry offered by the Pope to the King of Scotland.

[1] His Holiness found it convenient to forget the treatment of Wiclif's remains, by order of the Council of Constance!

[2] The Bull for putting the sentence in execution is printed in Burnet, b. iii. Rec. 9, immediately after the Excommunication itself. It is dated on the 17th December, (xvi Calend. Januar.) 1538.

covered over with a panoply, which they had no power to penetrate. His own hierarchy had already (probably in the course of this very year) issued two solemn declarations, in one of which they pronounced that Christ expressly forbade his Apostles, or their successors, to take the sword or the authority of Kings; and that if the Bishop of Rome, or any Bishop, should assume such power, he was a tyrant, an usurper, and a subverter of the kingdom of Christ. In the other, they affirmed that, by the commission of Christ to churchmen, they were only ministers of the Gospel; that, like all other subjects, they are under the authority of Christian Princes; that Bishops and Priests have charge of souls, and power to teach the Word, and administer the Sacraments; and that, in case of their negligence, it is the office of the Prince to compel them to the execution of their duty [1]. By the first of these documents, the Papal usurpation was once more expressly denounced; and the second contained such a perspicuous and temperate exposition of the Royal Supremacy, as was eminently adapted to repel the calumnies industriously circulated by the policy of Rome,—namely, that the King had made himself the fountain head of all *spiritual* authority and power. After this, the Cardinals might vent their

Declarations of the Bishops against the Pope.

[1] The first of these papers was signed by Cranmer and eighteen other Bishops, and by twenty-five Doctors of Divinity and Law. The other was signed also by Cranmer, and only seven Bishops, probably all that were about London at the time. Burnet, b. iii. p. 248, 249, and Rec. 10.

fury in the Conclave, and declare that a warfare against Henry, was as meritorious as a warfare against the Turk; and Pole might even exalt a crusade against him, above any other human enterprise [1]. But invective and excommunication must have been like the *tinkling cymbal*, in the ears of one, whose own Church was prepared to answer in the formidable language of these two declarations.

As no effort of Cranmer for the advancement of the great cause, should remain unrecorded, I intro-

[1] Some hopes had once been conceived of winning over Pole to the cause of the King; but these were now at an end. In May, 1536, he had sent to Henry his book, *Pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis Defensione*, in which he assailed his royal benefactor with unmeasured invective, and affirmed the whole realm of England to be fallen away from the body Catholic. His work is described by Dr. Starkey (who corresponded with him) as "the most *frantic judgment* he had ever read of a learned man." He was commanded by the King, in 1538, to return to England, and to be the interpreter of his own volume, some parts of which his Majesty found it difficult to understand. Pole, very wisely, disobeyed. He said that he would not return till the King came home; that is, to the Church. Cromwell was so exasperated, that he vowed he would *make Pole eat his own heart*. Henry declared him a rebel, and the Pope made him a Cardinal! See Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. i. c. 37, 38. 40.

It is in this book that Pole pronounces Henry to be worse than a Turk; nay, more audacious than Satan himself. "If," says he, "I should see Cæsar entering the Hellespont with a fleet against Constantinople, I should say to him, 'Cæsar, art thou sailing against the Sultan, as the enemy of the Christian name? Behold another enemy, far more worthy of thy arms!'" and then he goes on to urge an immediate invasion of England. See Turner, Hist. Eng. Henry VIII. b. i. c. 28, where the reader will find a tolerably copious abstract of this "*frantic judgment*."

duce, here, to the reader's notice, without any certain knowledge of its date, an Address of his to the King, for a further reformation. That it was presented about this period, is at least highly probable [1]. The main object of it evidently is, to dispose his Majesty to a patient consideration of the question, whether the marriage of Priests were lawful. It begins by representing the ill success of all religious discussions, without reference to the warrant of Scripture; it then avers that "the men of the *new learning, as they are called*, and those who adhere to the Papacy, agree that men are not forbidden to marry by the Word of God." It allows, indeed, that truth may be struck out by the collision of various opinions; but insists on the pernicious multitude of questions which were still springing up, from an incorrigible partiality for *unwritten verities;* as exemplified in the scholastic disputes, "whether there is any other satisfaction besides that of Christ, and whether the will is furnished with such strength and freedom, as to dispose itself to grace *de congruo;*" and, more especially, in the disregard of the royal injunctions, manifested by the continued agitation of questions respecting the use of images, and other superstitious practices. It then returns to the main topic, and submits "whether, in

Address of Cranmer to the King for a further reformation.

He pleads for the marriage of the Clergy.

[1] Coll. ii. p. 167. It alludes to the Royal Injunction of 1536, and it suggests a disputation respecting clerical marriages, and therefore must have preceded the Six Articles of 1539.

consideration of the premises, his Majesty would not be pleased to suspend his judgment for a time, and to abstain from pronouncing such marriages contrary to Scripture, and rather to command silence to both parties under a penalty:" and it concludes with a proposition, that the matter should be solemnly debated before the Universities, under this extraordinary condition,—that the advocates for the marriage of Priests should argue the question *at the peril of their lives;* while the opposing party should be liable, in case of their defeat, to no forfeiture or sacrifice whatever, save that of peaceably allowing to their adversaries the full liberty which they claimed, and which God had given them.

Approaching ascendency of the Romish party.

The whole tenor of this paper, therefore, seems to fix its date to the present year. It was evidently composed under imminent apprehensions of the approaching ascendency of the Romish party. The extreme urgency with which Cranmer here labours to secure an impartial hearing for the question of clerical marriages,—the readiness he expresses, on the part of the reformers, to meet death itself if they should fail in the contest,—all this evidently betrays his fear of the intolerable vexations, with which he and his adherents were threatened, from an invasion of their Christian liberty in that particular. His alarms were soon calamitously verified. The friends of the Papacy dreaded nothing so much as the marriage of the Clergy. They regarded it as a sort of bond for the permanency of the Reformation, and as the most form-

idable of all impediments to the revival of their own influence. Some advantage had been afforded them by the indiscretion and precipitancy of individuals. The Archbishop himself, indeed, was content to keep his wife secretly; she was never forced upon the notice of the world by a public introduction. In utter disregard of this prudent example, many Ecclesiastics, both secular and religious, not only married, but lived openly with their wives, although the laws, which forbade this practice, were still unrepealed: and the consequence of their rashness was, that, before the expiration of the year, a Proclamation came forth, declaring that "his Highness was not minded that the clergy should follow the example of a few light persons, and proceed to marriage without a common consent of his Highness and the realm." He therefore commands that all who had *openly* attempted such marriage, should be deprived of all ecclesiastical privilege and office, and be reputed as laymen; and that all such who in future should enter into matrimony, should be punished by fine and imprisonment at the royal pleasure[1]. This ordinance, it will be perceived, was so considerately framed, as to leave the Primate unmolested, so long as he should persevere in the same discreet privacy which he had hitherto observed: but still he could hardly fail to regard it as a sort of ominous prologue to severities which were soon to follow.

Proclamation against the married Clergy.

[1] Strype, Cranmer, b. i. c. 18.

This proclamation, it should be observed, had been preceded by certain other fearful signs, which seemed to threaten the cause of Scriptural truth with a relapse. The recent measures for exposing the impostures, and for demolishing the strong holds of the Papacy in England, had greatly animated the hopes of the German Protestants. Their negociations with Henry, which had been interrupted for about two years, were this year actively renewed. Among the ambassadors dispatched to England by the Confederates, were Myconius, a Divine, and Burckhart, Vice-chancellor to the Elector of Saxony; the latter of whom brought a letter from Melancthon to the King, expressing the joy, which had been kindled in the hearts of all good men, by his Majesty's alacrity in the work of Reformation[1]. The Germans were, unhappily, doomed to a bitter disappointment. No pains were spared by the Archbishop to bring on an amicable and effective conference between them and the English Prelates. The grand points in debate were the communion in one kind, the private mass, and the celibacy of priests. Upon these three abuses the foreigners conceived the whole fabric of the Papal tyranny to rest; and these were precisely the foundations which the Romish party in the hierarchy were secretly resolved to preserve untouched. All the exertions of Cranmer were, consequently, defeated. His urgent applications were put aside by the Roman-

Arrival of Ambassadors from Germany.

Cranmer endeavours to procure them a Conference with the English Divines.

His efforts defeated.

[1] Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. i. App. No. 94.

ists, on the pretext, that the King had already taken the matter into his own hand, and had reduced his sentiments on these questions to writing,—that they were unwilling to incur the hazard of collision with the Royal opinion,—and that, therefore, it would be necessary to confine the discussion to other matters. In vain did the Primate represent to Cromwell, that the Bishops declined to discourse of *abuses*, because they knew them to be indefensible, and yet were resolved to make no concession. In vain did he show, that their only object was "to break the concord," and that nothing would move them, but "some special commandment from the King[1]." His utmost endeavours were wholly ineffectual. All that could be accomplished was a tedious and protracted discussion in writing: and the negociation ended in a seeming agreement in those leading articles of the Catholic faith,

[1] Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. i. c. 43. Cranmer's letter to Cromwell is in Burnet, vol. iii. Rec. No. 48. and from this it appears that their Excellencies, the German orators, met with but scurvy entertainment, in more respects than one. The Primate complains that "they be very evil lodged; for, besides a multitude of rats daily and nightly running in their chambers, which is no small disquietness, the kitchen standeth directly against their parlour, where they daily dine and sup; and by reason thereof, the house savoureth so ill, that it offendeth all men that come into it." This alone might be sufficient to produce, or to aggravate, the indisposition of Myconius: so that, what with vermin and evil odours within their dwelling, and a crew of crafty intriguers without, it is not by any means wonderful that they were all in haste to take their leave. They arrived in May, and departed at the end of August.

which the Church of England had already adopted from the Confession of Augsburgh. The disputed points were still left untouched; the patience of the ambassadors was exhausted, and the health of one of them (Myconius) began to fail; and they were at last compelled to content themselves with preparing an ample dissertation in Latin, on the three grand abuses which they were most anxious to discuss, and leaving it behind them, with the King, on their departure. To this performance his Majesty was pleased to send a reply, (not quite so diffuse as the German disquisition, but yet sufficiently copious,) which was drawn up, at his command, by Tonstal, Bishop of Durham [1]. It contains a laboured vindication of the practices in question: and, with regard to the enormities occasioned by the celibacy of Priests, it indirectly, but very intelligibly, recommends to the Confederate Princes the royal example of Henry himself, who, instead of allowing matrimony to his Clergy, degraded all who ventured upon it, from the Priesthood, and then left them to follow their conscience, or their passions, as simple laymen [2].

Disappointment of the Germans.

[1] Strype, Eccl. Mem. c. 43. The letter of the German Ambassadors, together with the answer of the King, are printed at length in Burnet, vol. i. Addenda Rec. 7. The performance of Tonstal displays considerable learning and ingenuity. But his arguments from Scripture are by far the weakest parts of it.

[2] His words are,—" Si meum, Egregii Oratores, consilium requisissent vestri Principes, priusquam Sacerdotes, apud vos, ruptis vinculis, ad nuptias convolassent, an id consilii dedissem, quod

Nothing could well be more discouraging to the Archbishop, than the result of this mission. The event, however, was no other than what might reasonably be expected. It must have been well known to him, that Stephen Gardiner was inveterately hostile to all further change, and anxious to preserve every remaining fragment of the Popish system; and further, that he was zealously aided in his purpose by Tonstal and by Stokesley. Gardiner himself was perpetually insinuating that "the old usages and traditions were not to be broken without a cause; and that some of them were in no wise to be broken." Stokesley was incessantly on the prowl with the same doctrine; and Tonstal was scarcely ever seen without some old Greek book, which he was eternally ransacking in search of authorities in support of the ancient and venerable customs. This system of intrigue and *agitation* was carried on even at Lambeth Palace, whenever the Archbishop was out of hearing; and this, too, at the very time when the English Divines were "busied with the

Intrigues of Gardiner, &c.

vestri Principes arripuerunt, hæsito magnoperé. Nam si Sacerdotes, qui continere nollent, erumpere ad nuptias omninò voluissent, quanto satius forte fuisset, exemplo veterum, deposuisse tales a Sacerdotio, suæque, de cætero, conscientiæ quenquam reliquisse, ac deinde puriores altaribus admovisse, quam, liberè omnia permittendo, peccatis alienis auctores videri, atque, eâ ratione, aliena peccata nostra facere." Is it possible to hear such language as this, without contempt and disgust, from the mouth of such a man as Henry!—Burnet. vol. i. Rec. p. 359. Ed. 1679.

Germans [1]." It was, moreover, but too evident, that these men and their party were gradually establishing a dominion over the mind of Henry, which portended a disastrous eclipse to the influence of Cranmer and of Cromwell. The state of mind, which laid him open to such advisers, was sufficiently notorious. While he was employed in demolishing the structure of the Papal usurpation, he was known to be most sensitively fearful of the imputation of heresy: and he was unhappily surrounded by persons, who were bent, with all their faculties, on taking advantage of this feeling. The effect of their activity was seen in the Proclamation, above adverted to, respecting Clerical marriages; and it was soon to be still more calamitously manifested, in the sanguinary statute of the Six Articles.

Proceedings against Lambert.

At the close of this year, his Majesty had a memorable opportunity of testifying his orthodoxy to the world, by the cruel persecution of John Lambert, for denying the corporeal presence in the Eucharist. It is melancholy to reflect, that the same period which was signalized by the suppression of Monachism, should be rendered infamous by one of those sacrifices, which made the Christian Priesthood resemble the hierarchy of Moloch. The capricious spirit of the times, on the one hand, was holding up to ridicule the

[1] See a letter to Cromwell, from Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, with whom the Papal party had been tampering. Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. i. App. No. 93.

holy rood of Boxley, and the blood of Hales, and tossing the fragments of idolatry into the flames which were lighted for the destruction of a fanatical friar[1]; while, on the other hand, it offered up an holocaust in honour of the Mass! The part borne by Cranmer in the condemnation of Lambert was, in truth, but indirect and subordinate. But, before we consider it, it will be necessary to remark, that at this time (and for many years after) he was under the dominion of that perversion, which perhaps more than any other, had enabled the Papacy to rule the world. There is a letter of his extant, to one *Vadianus*, or *Wat*, a learned Protestant of St. Gal, in Switzerland, which contains a full exposition of his sentiments on the sacramental question. This foreigner, it seems, had sent him a treatise, entitled, *Aphorisms on the consideration of the Eucharist;* in which he maintained the doctrine of a merely *spiritual* presence in the Sacrament. The reply of Cranmer, on receiving this volume, expresses a wish that its learned author had been better employed! The Archbishop had consulted the writings of Œcolampadius and Zuinglius on the same point; and he now applied to them, the censure pronounced by Jerome on the works of Origen,—that, "where he wrote well, none could write better;

Cranmer still a believer in the Romish doctrine of the Sacrament.

[1] Friar Forest, who was inhumanly hanged alive, and consumed by a fire under the gallows, into which was thrown the famous Welsh image called *Darvel Gatheren;* which was able to deliver from hell *all* votaries, who testified their sense of the blessing by the liberality of their offerings.

where ill, nobody worse." He then observes, that if the Catholic doctrine were erroneous, the error had been delivered down from the very origin of the Church, by the Fathers themselves, and by Apostolic men; and he even declares his persuasion, that if the Church had not been built on this immoveable rock, it would long since have fallen, "with the crash of a mighty ruin[1]." It cannot be told, he continues, how much the free course of the Gospel has been obstructed by this *bloody* controversy. He therefore implores that this Evangelic verity might be maintained in its integrity, and that thus the undivided strength of the Church might be directed to the conversion of their common enemies. But if, he adds, we rend and lacerate each other, in conflicts like these, it is to be feared that, in the end, we must perish by our own dissensions.

To this letter of the Archbishop, may be properly added an extract from another, addressed by him to Cromwell in the month of June, 1538. He had been applied to by Francis Burckhart, one of the German Ambassadors, to mitigate the punishment of one Atkinson, a Sacramentarian, by allowing his penance to be performed in his own parish Church, instead of making him a public spectacle at St. Paul's. On this application, Cranmer remarks, that "forasmuch as *that error of the Sacrament of the Altar* was so greatly spread abroad in this realm, and daily in-

[1] —cum magnæ ruinæ fragore cecidisset. Strype, Cranmer, App. No. 25. where the whole letter is printed.

creasing more and more, we thought it needful for the suppressing of it, most specially to have him do his penance at St. Paul's, where the most people might be present, and thereby, in seeing him punished, beware of the like offence[1]."

Such were the sentiments which Cranmer brought with him to the trial of the unhappy Lambert. The real name of this man appears to have been Nicolson. He had been first awakened to a sense of Scriptural truth by the preaching of Bilney. He was imprisoned for heresy under Archbishop Warham, but was discharged on Cranmer's accession to the Primacy; and then, in order to avoid further molestation, he assumed the name of Lambert. Having adopted the notions of Zuinglius respecting the Eucharist, he became known as a *Sacramentary*—a name equally hateful to Papists and to Lutherans. Proceedings were instituted against him as a heretic by Dr. Taylor, to whom he had submitted his opinions in writing; and Cranmer was thus compelled to put him on his defence. In an evil hour, Lambert appealed from the Archbishop to the King.

Lambert is brought before Cranmer, and appeals to the King

This appeal was readily entertained by Henry. He had been stigmatized as the protector of heretical pravity. He was now resolved to repel the calumny, by personally sitting in judgment on a heretic. Westminster Hall was prepared for the solemnity:

[1] From the Orig. in the Chapter House at Westminster.—Todd's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 262.

and the ill-fated Sacramentary was summoned to appear before his Sovereign, surrounded by all the grandeur of his Court. Multitudes were assembled on this occasion, from various parts of the kingdom, to witness the zeal, the learning, and the sagacity of the Royal *moderator*. The eye of the prisoner wandered anxiously round this imposing assemblage[1]; and the proceedings were soon opened by Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, in a speech which was but ill fitted to relieve his apprehensions. The examination was then commenced by Henry himself. On learning that the culprit was known by two names, Henry told him that he would trust no man with two names, though it were his own brother. Lambert pleaded, on his knees, that he was driven to this expedient by persecution; and was beginning to compliment his Royal Judge on his learning and benignity: but he was sternly interrupted. "I came not here," said the King, "to hear mine own praises painted out in my presence. Go briefly to the matter." Confounded by this austerity, the man stood silent. "Why standest thou still," said the King; "answer plainly, is the Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, or not?"— "It is present after a manner," replied Lambert, "according to St. Austin."—"Answer me not from St. Austin, or any other," rejoined the King, "but say plainly, is the body of Christ there or not?"—

His trial.

[1] —— Conspectu in medio, turbatus, inermis,
Constitit, atque oculis Phrygia agmina circumspexit.

Being thus pressed home, the prisoner said, "I deny the Eucharist to be the body of Christ."—"Mark well, then," said his Majesty; "thou shalt be condemned by Christ's own words, *Hoc est corpus meum.*" With this magnificent burst of theology, Henry closed his own more immediate part in the disputation; and the controversy was then devolved on the Primate and the other Bishops.

Moderation of Cranmer in disputing against Lambert.

The Archbishop opened his arguments in a tone of remarkable moderation; and Lambert defended himself with a readiness and dexterity which embarrassed his learned antagonist, astonished the audience, and seemed even to move the King himself. Gardiner was so much alarmed at the turn of the debate, that he rushed into the contest out of his appointed order; and was followed, in succession, by ten other disputants, among whom, of course, were Tonstal and Stokesley [1]. For five hours together, was this friendless and solitary man compelled to endure the baiting of his adversaries, and was silenced at last only by weariness and exhaustion. The inhuman controversy lasted till torch-light. The King then demanded of the prisoner whether he would live or die. Lambert replied that he committed his soul to the mercy of God, and his body to the clemency of his Majesty. "Then," answered Henry, "you must die, for I will not be a patron unto heretics:" and immediately he turned to

[1] Whose death-bed consolation it was—if Foxe be rightly informed—that, in his life time, he had burnt no less than fifty heretics!—Foxe, vol. ii. p. 357. Ed. 1684.

the Vicegerent, and ordered him to read the sentence of condemnation. On the day appointed, Lambert went "without sadness or fear" to his execution. His sufferings at the stake were horribly protracted. "Of all the martyrs," says Foxe, "who were burned and offered up at Smithfield, none were so cruelly and piteously handled as he." His lower extremities were first consumed; and his living body, which was left suspended by the chain that fixed it to the stake, was then violently heaved off by the pikes of the Sheriff's halberdiers, and cast into the fire that remained; and there he, at length, ended his miseries, with the exclamation—*None but Christ—none but Christ*[1]!

Condemnation and Execution of Lambert.

[1] The history of Lambert is given by Foxe at great length, vol. ii. p. 331—365. Ed. 1684.—One of the most curious particulars in it is the argument of Stokesley. Water, he said, evaporates by heat; and philosophy tells us that a substance cannot be changed but into a substance. The substance of water must, therefore, pass into the substance of the air; and yet the quality of moisture is still retained by it. Here then is a change of substance, without a change of accident.—This felicitous illustration brightened the countenance of the opponents, which had been somewhat clouded by the eminent ability of their victim. Lambert, however, was a match for them. He very properly replied, that moisture might, indeed, be predicated of vapour as well as of water: but, then, vapour is moist in a very different manner and degree; so that, whether there were a change of substance or not, unquestionably there was a change of quality. He might have added, that there was not only a partial change of one quality, but a total change of all the rest: whereas, in the Sacrament, according to the Romish doctrine, the substance is

It is mentioned by Foxe as a remarkable circumstance, that the doom of Lambert was accomplished by the instrumentality of *Gospellers*. Rowland Taylor was the man to whom he submitted his propositions. Barnes, on being consulted, advised a reference to the judgment of Cranmer, who, thereupon, was under the necessity of bringing him judicially to question: and Cromwell was the person who pronounced his condemnation. It must, however, be remembered, that these men, though decided patrons of what was contemptuously called the *New Learning*, were none of them, at that time, Sacramentaries; and that the opinions of Lambert were such as, in their estimation, numbered him among the enemies of Christian concord, and obstructors to the course of the Scriptural verity. The sentiments of Cromwell are distinctly expressed by him in a letter to Sir T. Wyat, the King's Ambassador in Germany; though in language which savours rankly of the servility of the Courtier. He there describes Lambert as a *miserable heretic Sacramentary;* and talks sonorously of "the princely gravity and inestimable majesty with which his Highness exercised the office of Supreme Head of the Church of England:" and he wishes that the Potentates of Christ-

changed, though every quality, without exception, remains unaltered. It is perfectly astonishing that men of common intelligence could be deceived by so despicable a fallacy. The argument, however, was voted a miracle of acuteness, and the respondent was overborne by clamour and reviling.—Foxe, vol. ii. p. 357.

endom could have been present at the scene, since "undoubtedly they would have much marvelled at his Majesty's high wisdom and judgment; and reputed him no otherwise than the mirror and light of all other Kings and Princes in Christendom[1]." All this fulsome panegyric is very much in the style and manner of that age. It is altogether worthless as a testimony in favour of Cromwell's Master: and it is still worse, if contrasted with the description given by Foxe of the "fierce countenance" and unfeeling demeanour of the King. But, at all events, it is wholly incredible that such language could have been uttered by any one, whose opinions, on the Sacramental question, were in harmony with those of the accused. With regard to Cranmer, it should always be kept in mind, that the business was not of his seeking—that the delinquent was brought officially before him—that his own conscientious opinions were, then, in decided opposition to those of the prisoner—and, lastly, that Lambert's chance of mercy would probably have been much more promising, had he been content to leave his case in the hands of the Archbishop, instead of appealing to the King.

Unfortunately, the trial of Lambert was not the only work of the same kind in which the Archbishop was involved. For several years past the kingdom had been infested by an influx of Anabaptists from the continent. The name of this sect was derived from their belief that infant baptism was a nullity,

[1] Coll. vol. ii. p. 152.

and that a repetition of the rite was indispensable to all adults who had received it in their childhood. But with this perversion they combined a multitude of other pernicious principles. They held all liberal arts in utter contempt; they destroyed all books except the Scriptures; they demolished, without remorse, all civil and social institutions; and they made it a matter of conscience to extirpate the *ungodly*, in order that they might establish *the kingdom of Zion*. In short, they were the apostles of anarchy, as well as the patrons of misbelief; and, therefore, nothing could be more reasonable than vigorous, though temperate measures, for the suppression of their doctrines. To this duty, however, the King addressed himself with his usual ferocity. In the preceding October, he had issued a commission to the Archbishop, and several other Prelates and Doctors, empowering them to inquire after persons "suspected for Anabaptists, or for any other *damnable heresy*;" and to institute summary proceedings against all that should be obstinate and irreclaimable. A proclamation followed in November, which ranked the Sacramentarians with the Anabaptists, as "the fellows of their crime;" and ordered that they should be prosecuted to extremity. In the course of the same month, one man and one woman, both natives of Holland, and both Anabaptists, were delivered to the secular arm, and committed to the flames in Smithfield[1].

Burning of two Anabaptists.

While he was offering these victims to the bloody

[1] Coll. vol. ii. p. 152, and Rec. No. 46.

idol of his theological orthodoxy, the King showed himself equally ready to crush the treasons, which were incessantly hatched against him under the incubation of the Papacy. Reginald Pole was the unwearied agitator who was scattering over Europe the seeds of hostility against his patron and Sovereign; and few things are more surprising than the steady and reflecting fanaticism with which he pursued his object. There is, however, great reason to believe that his zeal for the Romish hierarchy was, at one time, considerably animated by secret hopes of an union with his Popish kinswoman, the Princess Mary, and of his eventual succession to the crown of England. But these views were effectually defeated by the policy of the Emperor, who was far from desirous of his elevation to the throne. It was, most probably, at the Imperial suggestion, that the Pontiff had forced upon him the unwelcome honour of a Cardinal's hat; which, by compelling him to enter the priesthood, would, of course, put an end to his matrimonial speculations. His advancement to this dignity took place in December, 1536. It did not, however, for an instant, suspend his dangerous practices; which he seems to have carried on, throughout, with a very prudent attention to his own personal safety, but in utter disregard of the ruin they might bring upon his nearest connections. In October, 1538, his friends and relatives in England were arraigned on a charge of high treason, for conspiring to depose or assassinate Henry, and to place the Cardinal on the throne in his stead. We are

Intrigues of Pole.

not, now, in possession of the evidence against them; but the particulars of the conspiracy were revealed by Sir Geoffry Pole, under the influence of remorse, after he had attempted suicide in prison; and this discovery secured his life. Among the victims were Lord Montague, the brother of Pole, and the Countess Margaret his mother. It was on the last of December that Montague and his confederates were found guilty; and in the course of nine days they were sent to execution. The aged Countess, the last of the Plantagenets, was attainted four months afterwards. But the fate which was suspended over the head of his parent was by no means sufficient to interrupt the desperate intrigues of the Cardinal; and the blow was brought down upon her, two years subsequently, by the alarm and the anger which his restless machinations continued to excite[1].

Nothing could well be more mortifying to the Romish party than a discovery like this. Its manifest tendency was to involve them in suspicion, and, consequently, to paralyse their strength. Nevertheless, it does not appear to have materially impaired their influence. Their hopes were high, their activity sleepless, and their address consummate. None were louder than they in reprobating the unnatural projects of the degenerate Englishman, and his perfidious confederates; none more forward to acquiesce in the measures needful for defeating their treasonable designs,

Increasing influence of the Romanists.

[1] Turner, Hist. Eng. Hen. VIII. c. 28—30.

and disabling for ever the malice or the craft of Rome. They perceived that, between his schismatic establishment and his *Catholic* doctrine, Henry now found himself beset with incessant difficulty and peril. He was, indeed, fully possessed with the notion, that his realm was in danger of being overrun with every variety of political and religious *heresy*. His perplexity aggravated the sternness of his imperious nature. All parties trembled at his frown, and were apparently in readiness to bow down before his will. In this temper it was that the new Parliament was soon to assemble. And it will be seen with what vigilance and dexterity the Papal faction availed themselves of their growing ascendency, in making the Legislature subservient to their interests.

CHAPTER VIII.

1539—1541.

Firmness of Cranmer in resisting the misapplication of Church property—His views respecting prebendal preferments—Character of Cranmer's auxiliaries—Cromwell—Latimer—Shaxton—Fox—Boner raised to the Bench—New Parliament—Royal message recommending six articles for examination—Cranmer's opposition—The King present at one stage of the debates—Cranmer refuses to retire from the debate, though desired by the King—Act of the Six Articles—Latimer and Shaxton resign their Bishoprics—Cranmer's notions respecting the secular power in ecclesiastical matters—Distress of Cranmer—He sends his wife to Germany—The Peers entertained by Cranmer at Lambeth—The King's gracious message to him—Popish book of ceremonies—Not sanctioned by the Convocation—Exasperation of the Germans at the Six Articles—Indignation of Luther—Project of the marriage with Anne of Cleves—The King's antipathy to her—The Convocation concurs in the dissolution of the marriage—Cranmer presides at this business—His views respecting it—His intercession for Cromwell—He is left almost alone—His firmness in opposing the intended Popish formulary—His fall anticipated—Noble fidelity of the King to Cranmer—Proclamation to enforce placing the Bible in Churches—Cathedral church of Canterbury restored to the state of a Deanery and Chapter—Cranmer's benevolent views respecting Canterbury Grammar School—Information brought to Cranmer of the unfaithfulness of the Queen, Catherine Howard—Communicated by him to the King—Interview of Cranmer with the Queen—Her Execution.

It would be difficult to imagine a person much less qualified either to conduct or to resist an organized

system of intrigue, than Archbishop Cranmer. His habits and his temperament were altogether unfit for the agitations and the stratagems of a political life. His greatest personal enjoyments were those of solitary research. His temper was mild and unsuspicious, and his demeanor singularly affable. His candour and moderation were acknowledged by all but his most inveterate enemies. He was eminently adorned with the *charity which thinketh no evil.* His hatred of turbulence and conflict may sometimes have given to his character an air of pliability; but his pliability was not the accomplishment of a subtle and designing courtier. It was, to say the very worst of it, the occasional weakness of one who, in his heart, abhorred iniquity, but who, not being prodigally endowed with animal hardihood, was not prepared, at every moment, to confront the designs of evil men with sturdy and resolute opposition. A man like this was no match for such masters of policy as Gardiner, and many of his adherents: and no one can wonder that Cranmer's genius was often baffled, though never rebuked, by the more crafty spirit which ruled the counsels of his adversaries. He never, for a moment, seems to have lost the personal esteem and attachment of Henry: but, at this period, he *was* apparently losing the intimate confidence of his master: and it is worthy of remark, that the wane of his ascendency was manifestly accelerated precisely by the exercise of that very quality, in which he is supposed by some to have been unhappily deficient. In spite of the profusion of the King and

the cupidity of his favourites, he opposed, with inflexible firmness, the progress of spoliation. He professed himself content that the Abbeys of Royal foundation should be forfeited to the Crown. But he, and his associates, never ceased to insist on the expediency and the justice of abstaining from the utter desecration of the remaining spoils of the Church. They were perpetually insisting on the duty of applying those resources to the foundation of Colleges and Hospitals, and other projects of religious and charitable wisdom. One noble design of the Archbishop, in particular, is worthy of the highest admiration. The Prebendal preferments had been so notoriously abused, that, in process of time, these, too, were invaded by secular men: and the pretence for this usurpation was, that no secular men could more scandalously pervert those preferments, than many of their Ecclesiastical occupants had done, by their worldly and luxurious lives. It was urged, to little purpose, that these benefices without cure of souls, were fit encouragements for those who might be disabled by infirmity or age for a parochial charge; or for those who were otherwise capable of rendering eminent service to the Church; or, lastly, as an aid to such Parochial ministers as would otherwise be starving on their miserable incumbencies [1]. These considerations proved but a feeble protection against

Firmness of Cranmer in resisting the misapplication of Church property.

His views respecting the Prebendal preferments.

[1] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 8.

the prevailing iniquity of the age. But if the views of Cranmer had been promptly realized, the Church would have been provided with at least one effective bulwark against avarice and oppression. His project was, that every Cathedral in the kingdom should be converted into a seminary of "sound learning and religious education;" that Readers should be appointed, at each of those establishments, in Divinity, in Hebrew, and in Greek; and that the Students who attended their instructions, should form a body of probationers, whom the Bishop might transplant, from time to time, out of this nursery, into every corner of his diocese: so that every Prelate would, at length, be surrounded by a College of Clergy, to be promoted by him, according to their talents and attainments[1]. Unhappily, however, both this and every similar proposal, fell heavily on the ear of a Monarch, who was surrounded with insatiable parasites; who thought that Knights, and men at arms, were the fittest substitutes for monks; and that towers and fortresses were the buildings which ought to rise out of the ruins of dilapidated Sanctuaries. And,—still more unfortunately, if possible,—the reluctance of the King was aggravated by the machinations of the Romanists. Even the spoliation of the Church was, in the estimation of many of that party, a less formidable evil than the substitution of

His designs disagreeable to the King, and defeated by the Papists.

[1] See Burnet, vol. i. p. 301, who says that he had seen a letter of the Archbishop's on this subject; which, however, he does not produce.

a mighty scheme for the diffusion and establishment of the principles of the Reformation. And accordingly, no efforts were spared by them to defeat those labours of Cranmer[1], which, if they had prospered, must have conferred the most enduring benefits on our Church. The intrigues of his adversaries were but too successful. His noble plans were utterly abortive; and produced no other effect than that of impairing his influence in the counsels of his Sovereign.

Character of Cranmer's auxiliaries.

It was further to be lamented, that the interests of the Reformation were, at this time, but feebly represented by the friends and adherents of the Primate. The influence of its great patron, the Vicegerent himself, was beginning to ebb away.

Cromwell.

"The blacksmith's son" was regarded with disdain by the Aristocracy,—with jealousy by those who had once been his equals,—and with hatred by many among the Clergy, whose supremacy he was thought to have usurped. His own personal qualities were not of sufficient power to bear him up against the weight of this hostility. He was energetic, unscrupulous, and consequently useful, in the transaction of his master's business; but his character wanted the genuine stamp of greatness. There was nothing in it of that superiority which lifts up the head into the region of serenity, while the tempests are raging below. The professional auxiliaries of the Archbishop were wholly unequal to the ap-

[1] See Burnet, vol. i. p. 301.

proaching crisis. Hugh Latimer, then Bishop of Worcester, has been called the Apostle of England; and, with undoubted justice, if Apostolic integrity and zeal could merit the title. But, in truth, he had but little of the genuine Apostolic prudence. He had the simplicity of the dove, with scarcely a particle of the serpent's wisdom. His honest impatience was, perpetually, apt to outrun the tardy and unequal pace of authority; and his almost rustic plainness sometimes endangered his cause, by exposing it to the contempt of cold-hearted or worldly men. His peculiarities, indeed, were so well known to the Archbishop, that he found it expedient to administer to his venerable friend some grains of salutary caution, on his appointment to the office of a preacher to the Court. He wisely recommends him, in his sermons "to overpass all manner of speech, either apertly or suspiciously sounding against any special man's facts, acts, manners, or sayings; to the intent, that the audience may have none occasion thereby,—namely, to slander your adversaries: which would seem to many that you were devoid of charity, and so much the more unworthy to occupy that room. Nevertheless, if such occasion be given by the word of God, let none offence or suspicion be unreprehended; especially if it be generally spoken, without affection. Furthermore, I would that you should study to comprehend your matter, that, in any condition, you stand no longer in the pulpit than an hour, or an hour and a half at the utmost. For, by long expense of time, the King

Latimer.

and the Queen shall, peradventure, wax so weary at the beginning, that they shall have small delight to continue throughout with you to the end[1]."

The character of Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, was another source of weakness and disunion. He, too, like Latimer, was grievously deficient in discretion: and, unlike him, he was irritable in temper, and most unstable in judgment. He had, unhappily, involved himself in a somewhat intemperate correspondence with the Vicar General, upon a point of ecclesiastical discipline[2]; and this, at a time when all the resources of mutual confidence were required for the support of the Protestant interest. Of all the other Prelates attached to the Reformation, by far the most active and judicious was Fox, Bishop of Hereford. But death had unfortunately deprived the cause of his services in the May of the preceding year: and never was any thing more disastrous than the choice of his successor! Our very children have learned to pronounce the name of Edmund Boner with abhorrence: and this was the man who was now to be advanced to the Prelacy. He had first emerged into notice when the public mind was agitated by the question of the Divorce. His

Shaxton.

Fox.

Boner raised to the Bench.

[1] Lansdowne MS. Brit. Mus. 1045, No. 47; cited in Todd's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 139, 140.

[2] See Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. i. c. 30. and App. No. 61.; also Burnet, vol. i. b. iii. Rec. No. 8. This is placed by Burnet in 1537, by Strype in 1535.

turbulent activity in the cause recommended him to Cromwell, and raised him to the Archdeaconry of Leicester. His subsequent exertions completely won for him the confidence of the Reformers. Cranmer himself appointed him the Master of the Faculties[1]. He was sent to supersede Gardiner as Ambassador to the French Court; and, during his residence at Paris, professed so fervent an interest in the progress of the English Bible and Testament—(of which an impression was then in preparation there)[2]—that he was reckoned among the foremost champions of Scriptural truth. Towards the close of this year, 1539, while he was yet in France, Stokesley died; and Boner was elevated to the See of London. But, by that time, the influence which originally lifted him from obscurity, had sunk into decay; and he quietly succeeded to the diocese, and the principles, of his predecessor. His subsequent history is well known. It is the history of a nature so detestably selfish and ferocious, that the darkest Paganism would have been disgraced by it.

The revolution in the sentiments of the King was, this year, speedily proclaimed from the pulpit. On the first Sunday in Lent, Gardiner preached at St. Paul's Cross. His oratory on this occasion was sufficiently contemptible. He chose for his subject the three temptations of Christ, of which he made

[1] See Strype's Cranmer, b. i. c. 19.
[2] Foxe, in Eccl. Biog. vol. ii. p. 361—364.

the following notable application:—"Christ was tempted by the devil to cast himself *downward*. But, now-a-days, the devil tempteth men to cast themselves *backward*. *There is no forward in the new teaching, but all is backward.* Now the devil teacheth—come back from fasting, come back from praying, come back from confession, come back from weeping for thy sins; and all is backward. Insomuch that he must learn to say his Paternoster backward[1]." The performance of Bishop Tonstal before the King, on Palm Sunday, was much more respectable than the worthless trifling of Gardiner. It vehemently condemns the usurpation of the Pope—reprobates the excommunication of the King—and denounces the ingratitude of that "errant traitor," Reginald Pole[2]. The same sentiments were echoed by Bishop Longland, at Greenwich, on Good Friday. In short, the whole of the Romish party appeared to emulate each other in pouring contempt upon the Supremacy of the Pope; a policy which his Holiness probably viewed with paternal indulgence, if he was fully apprized of the motives which prompted it.

[1] From his "Declaration of such Articles as George Joye hath gone about to confute as false."—See Todd's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 270.

[2] This Sermon is erroneously placed in the year 1538, by Strype.—He very justly observes, that this Bishop and others afterwards calmly took back the yoke upon their own necks, and laid it again upon the necks of the people!—Eccl. Mem. vol. i. c. 44.

They were, however, prepared to bribe the King still more deeply, by a passive acquiescence in the dissolution of the monasteries, and the transfer of their whole property into the Royal exchequer; a measure to which nothing could have reconciled the Pontiff, but a conviction that it was now become inevitable.

New Parliament.

On the 28th of April a new Parliament was assembled. On Monday, the 5th of May, a Royal message was brought down by the Lord Chancellor Audley, expressive of his Majesty's anxiety to terminate religious dissension; and recommending the appointment of a Committee, to inquire into the debated doctrines, and to prepare such articles as would pacify the spirit of controversy. The commissioners appointed to carry this hopeful project into execution, were the Vicegerent, the two Archbishops, the Bishops of Durham, Bath and Wells, Ely, Bangor, Carlisle, and Worcester. The Reformers were thus left in a decided minority. Their only advantages were, the support of the Vicar General, and the acknowledged principle that the rule of faith was to be sought in Scripture alone. Eleven days were wasted in fruitless conflict. On Friday, the 16th of May, the Duke of Norfolk announced to the House the ill success of their deliberations, and presented six questions for examination in full Parliament; with liberty to all parties to offer what should appear best, in order that a union of opinions might be attained, and a penal law enacted to enforce

Royal Message, recommending Six Questions for Examination.

obedience to it[1]. The following were the Articles proposed for consideration.

1. Whether the real body of Christ was present in the Eucharist, without any transubstantiation.

2. Whether that Sacrament should be administered in both kinds to the laity.

3. Whether vows of chastity, made by men or women, are binding by the law of God.

4. Whether the same law warrants the celebration of private masses.

5. Whether it allows the marriage of Priests.

6. Whether it makes auricular confession necessary.

Cranmer's Opposition.

Against the Romish view of these articles, with the exception of the first, Cranmer maintained a vigorous opposition for three days together. His eloquence and learning extorted admiration even from his enemies[2]. He was supported by Goodrich, Shaxton, Latimer, Hilsey, and Barlow, among the Bench: but he had to contend with Lee, Stokesley, Gardiner, Sampson, Repps, and Aldrich; and he received no assistance from any one of the temporal peers. The Protestant Vicar General himself was silent[3]. The King, however, appears to have been so struck with Cranmer's resolute resistance, that he afterwards demanded the heads of his arguments in writing. But, by this time, the matter was far beyond the jurisdiction of logic or

1 Lord's Journal's, vol. i. p. 139.
2 Strype's Cranmer, b. i. c. 19.
3 Ibid.

divinity. The King felt both his honour and safety to be at stake: his honour, as Head of the Church, and Defender of the Catholic Faith; his safety, as a Monarch whose very throne must be endangered by the commotions[1] incident to a wild conflict of religious principles and opinions.

On Friday, May 23, the Parliament was prorogued till the 30th of the same month. On their reassembling, in order to give an appearance of equity to the proceeding, it was signified by the Chancellor to be the King's pleasure that a bill should be prepared by each party, and presented to the House. One bill was to be composed by the Primate, the Bishop of St. David's, and Dr. Peter; the other by the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Winchester and Durham, and Dr. Tregonwell; and that the bill which should find favour with the House should be submitted to his Majesty. The measure framed by Cranmer and his colleagues was, of course, rejected by the Lords, though not without a contest. The House then received permission to proceed with their discussions on the other. On the 7th of June it was brought in; and, on the 10th, read a third time and passed. On the 14th it was received back from the Commons, with an amendment, which was agreed to on the 16th; and on the 28th it became the law of the land[2].

[1] Herbert, 511. Ed. 1683.

[2] Lords' Journals, vol. i. p. 113—119. Burnet, vol. i. b. iii. p. 258.

The rapidity of these proceedings may be ascribed partly to the known opinions of the King; and still more to the Royal presence in the House of Lords, at one stage of the debate. That Henry came down in person, is placed beyond all doubt by the subsequent assertion of Cranmer himself[1]. That he addressed the assembly may be collected from the words of a member of that very Parliament[2]. Such was his impatience of opposition, that he desired the Archbishop to absent himself from the House till the bill should have become a law. With this requisition Cranmer respectfully, but firmly, refused to comply; protesting that the cause was not his own, but that it was

The King present at one stage of the Debates on the Six Articles.

Cranmer refuses to retire from the debate, though desired by the King.

[1] In his answer to the second article of the Devonshire rebels, in 1549, Cranmer affirms that "if the King's Majesty himself had not come personally into the Parliament House, those laws (the Six Articles) had never passed." Strype's Cranmer, Append. No. 40. Something of the same kind was intimated by him in his defence against Gardiner, (Ed. 2. p. 285), in which, after declaring that he himself "*had never consented to those articles*," he adds—"how that matter was *enforced* by some persons, they know right well who were then present." I can find, however, no notice of the King's presence in the Lords' Journals.

[2] An anonymous letter has been printed by Strype, (Cranmer, App. No. 26.) from a Romish member of Parliament, concerning the passing of the Six Articles, in which the writer says that, notwithstanding the resistance of Cranmer, and several other Bishops, "yet, finally, his Highness *confounded* them all with *God's learning*." *Confound* them his Highness certainly did! How much *God's learning* had to do with the matter, is quite another question.

the cause of God[1]. And it should here be mentioned, to the honour of Henry, that he graciously endured this display of uncompromising integrity, and never suffered it to interrupt his regard for the Archbishop[2].

Act of the Six Articles.

By this Act, the six points debated were all established in favour of the Roman Catholics. It fully maintained the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the practice of communion in one kind. It affirmed that Priests are forbidden to marry,—that vows of chastity are binding,—that private masses are agreeable to the Divine law,—and lastly, that auricular confession is expedient and necessary. The penalties it inflicted were horrible. It condemned to the stake all who should speak,

[1] Foxe, in Eccl. Biog. vol. iii. p. 475.

[2] It has been stated that Cranmer "wrote an apology to the King, for his presumption in having opposed the opinion of his Majesty." (Ling. Hist. Eng. vol. vi. p. 386.) I know not where to look for this *apology*, unless it be the written statement of his opinions, afterwards submitted by him to the King, *by his Majesty's own desire*. (See Herb. p. 510. Ed. 1683 ; and Burn. b. iii. A.D. 1539.) It has further been affirmed that Cranmer came over to the opinion of the Head of the Church (Ling. Ibid.) And here, again, I am at a loss for any authority. The assertion is directly opposed to the statement of Foxe, that he refused to retire from the House during the debates upon the Bill. (Eccl. Biog. vol. iii. p. 475.) It is equally opposed to Cranmer's own subsequent declaration to the King himself, that his opinions remained unaltered. (Coll. vol. ii. p. 200.) It is true that Cranmer was left in a minority so hopeless, as to make it nugatory to divide the House. But who can be so ignorant of Parliamentary practice, as to construe this into a proof of acquiescence?

preach, or write against the established sacramental doctrine; and it doomed to the death of felons all who should preach, or dispute against the other five. It annulled the marriages of all who had taken the vow of chastity; it punished as felony, the concubinage of Priests (for so was their marriage then styled); and inflicted the same penalty on all contemptuous abstinence from confession, and the eucharist. The due execution of these frightful provisions was entrusted to Commissioners, assisted by a jury; and incumbents were ordered to remind their parishioners from the pulpit of the blessings thus provided for them.

Latimer and Shaxton resign their Bishopricks.

Both Latimer and Shaxton testified their abhorrence of this measure by the resignation of their Bishopricks. If Cranmer had done the same, it would have been impossible to withhold our admiration from such a proof of his sincerity. As he did not, it is fairly to be concluded, that the Articles from which he dissented, in his judgment, left the fundamentals of Christianity untouched. Besides, it must be taken into consideration, that the notions of Cranmer, respecting the power of the State in Ecclesiastical matters, were always very exalted,—nearly approaching to what in a later age would be called *Erastian*; and therefore,—although he felt himself at liberty to resist the Statute, by argument, to the very uttermost,—yet when once it became the law, he conceived submission to be an obvious duty. It has been conjectured, that his thoughts were deeply employed, much

Cranmer's notions respecting the Secular power in Ecclesiastical matters.

about this time, on the limits within which the Secular authority should be confined, in the punishment of heresy. And every friend to the Reformation must cordially rejoice, that his deliberations enabled him to retain his post, and thus secured the continuance of his public services to the cause of the Protestant religion[1].

It will be readily conceived, that this odious victory produced unbounded exultation among the Romanists. It placed in their hands a scourge with six murderous lashes, the terrors of which, they hoped, would effectually silence the inquisitive and disorderly spirit of the times. Nay, strange as it may seem, the bloody instrument was regarded with positive complacency, by a large portion of the people of England. There still were multitudes who looked with horror on the suppression of the monasteries. In their estimation, it was nothing less than the triumph of heresy and sacrilege. But this inhuman Statute consoled them with the hope, that they still had upon the throne an orthodox Monarch; and that the supremacy with which he had been invested, would at least be exercised for the honour of the true *Catholic* faith[2]. The dejection of the reformers was,

[1] Strype mentions a Latin MS. which he found among the papers of the Archbishop, (and which is now in the Library of C. C. C. Cambridge) entitled, "Num in hereticos, jure, Magistratui, gravius animadvertere liceat," and dated 1539: and he thinks it very probable that this work may then have been consulted by him.

[2] It is well known, that there was no feature of the Reformation more generally detested by the Romanists, than the permis-

of course, as great as the elation of their adversaries. The affliction of the Archbishop was extreme. It seemed in an instant to wither all his hopes of the restoration of Scriptural Christianity; and his distress was deepened by the ruin with which it threatened his own domestic comfort. He had hitherto lived in private with his wife: a privilege which was not affected by the late Royal Proclamation. But he was now deprived even of this satisfaction; and was compelled to send her, with their children, to her friends in Germany. The King himself appears to have been distressed by the suffering of his old and still valued friend; and, in order to assuage his anxiety, he desired the Primate to invite the Dukes of Nor-

Distress of Cranmer.

He sends his wife to Germany.

sion of clerical marriages; and this, in spite of the obvious danger that the enforced celibacy of the Clergy would only betray them into much more criminal violations of their vow of chastity. Soon after the passing of this Act, the Duke of Norfolk met his old chaplain, Lawney, the same facetious person who had on a former occasion extorted a smile from the Archbishop, by his satirical description of Stokesley. "O, my Lawney," said the Duke, "whether may priests now have wives, or no?"—"If it please your Grace," replied the humorous divine, "I cannot tell whether priests may have wives or no; but well I wot, and am sure of it, for all your Act, that *wives will have priests*." The Duke was too well satisfied of the truth of the remark, to resent this amusing sally of his chaplain. He therefore only turned to his attendants, and said, "Hearken, masters, how this knave scorneth our Act, and maketh it worth a fly! Well, I see thou wilt never forget thy old tricks." And so the Duke and his gentlemen went away, merrily laughing at the jest. Strype, Cranmer, b. i. c. 8.

folk and Suffolk, and *all* the Peers of Parliament, (then not nearly so numerous as at the present day,) to an entertainment at Lambeth. A visit of this kind, Henry conceived, would effectually obviate the impression, that the recent proceedings had involved the Archbishop in a fatal loss of the Royal favour. The Peers, of course, could not decline an invitation given at the suggestion of the King; and, at the appointed day, the Palace was graced by the presence of the most noble personages in the realm. The chief object of this meeting was soon declared. In the hearing of these distinguished guests, the Duke of Norfolk signified to the Primate the King's pleasure, that they should comfort him with the assurance, that the good will of his Majesty towards him was still unimpaired; that the King was much impressed with the industry and learning displayed by him in his recent exertions in Parliament; and was anxious that he should not be discouraged by their unsuccessful result. In reply to this gracious intimation, Cranmer professed himself deeply grateful for this mark of the Royal condescension; but, instead of uttering a syllable which sounded like an apology, or intimated his assent to the recent measures, he declared his hope that "hereafter his allegations and authorities should prevail, to the glory of God, and the commodity of the realm." A conversation then followed, in which the mild and affable demeanour of the Archbishop was advantageously

The Peers entertained by Cranmer at Lambeth.

The King's gracious message to him.

Cranmer's reply.

contrasted with the overbearing insolence of Cardinal Wolsey. The general burst of compliment that ensued, was completed by the Vicar General, who declared that the Primate must have been born in some auspicious hour. It was the lot of the other counsellors perpetually to incur his Majesty's suspicion, and to feel the weight of the Royal rebuke. But the King would never listen to a word of insinuation against his Grace of Canterbury. The Vicegerent himself could never obtain a hearing, if ever he ventured to intimate any thing to his disadvantage; and therefore, he added, your Grace is most happy, if you can maintain yourself in this condition[1].

Among the first-fruits of the counter-reformation, was a *Book of Ceremonies*. But this produce was blighted in the bud. If not the work of Gardiner himself, it was certainly submitted to his revisal, and was propounded by his party, to the Convocation. It did not, however, receive the sanction of that assembly, though the cause of its rejection is not certainly known. It appears, indeed, that the Archbishop was, about this time, occupied in refut-

Popish Book of Ceremonies.

Not sanctioned by the Convocation.

[1] Foxe, in Eccl. Biog. vol. iii. p. 475. Strype, Cranmer, b. i. c. 19. The account of this visit is taken, by these writers, from an eye-witness of it, Morice, the Archbishop's secretary, whose MS. is in C. C. C. Cambridge. It is curious enough, that in the hands of Dr. Lingard, the whole affair of the banquet at Lambeth dwindles into a "gracious and consoling answer" to Cranmer's written *apology* for his presumptuous opposition to his Majesty's opinion: a statement for which, I repeat, no authority has been produced. Ling. Hist. Engl. vi. 386.

ing certain Articles put forth by the Romanists; and it has been conjectured that these were no other than the superstitious regulations in question. If this surmise be well founded, it affords a satisfactory proof that the influence of the Primate was not wholly extinguished; and that he was still watchfully, and even successfully, hovering about the triumphant march of the Romish faction[1].

The King had now remained no less than two years a widower; and Cromwell was naturally desirous that his Majesty's next matrimonial connection should be such as to strengthen the Protestant interest against the machinations of the Romanists. Some measure of this kind was becoming urgently expedient. Nothing could exceed the disappointment and exasperation produced among the Reformers of Germany by the late superstitious and sanguinary law. The truth was courteously, but very plainly, told by Melancthon, in an epistle addressed to Henry himself. The indignation of Luther was expressed in less measured language. "I am rejoiced," he said, in a letter to the Duke of Saxony, "that the

Exasperation of the Germans at the Six Articles.

Indignation of Luther.

[1] See Strype, Cranmer, b. i. c. 19. and Eccl. Mem. vol. i. c. 47. also App. No. 109, where the whole of this Book of Ceremonies is printed. The compilation is prolix and minute. I presume it corresponds, in most particulars, with the Romish ceremonial in use at the present day. Some of its provisions and maxims are, indeed, unexceptionable. But its tendency, on the whole, is to convert the worship of God into a trifling pantomime, or at best, a gaudy melodrame.

King has at last thrown off the mask. He demanded to be chosen as head and defender of the Gospel in Germany. Away with such a head! His power and his wealth have so inflated him, that he would be adored as a divinity. His craft is such as might well qualify him for the Popedom itself[1]." In the midst of this spreading alienation, the King thought fit to listen to his Vicar General, who was anxious that his master should pacify, by a Protestant alliance, the fears and suspicions of the German Princes. The person recommended by Cromwell, as the new consort, was the Princess Anne, sister to the Duke of Cleves, who had recently established the Lutheran reformation in his principality. The Duke readily assented to the match; and the Elector of Saxony, who had married a sister of the Princess, was prevailed on to sanction it, in spite of his cordial detestation of the Six Articles. The counsel was most disastrous to the Vicegerent, and, beyond all question, precipitated his fate. The pencil of Holbein had invested the lady with charms, which Henry was unable to discover when she landed in England. His disappointment was gradually aggravated into positive antipathy; and after six months of *apparent* cohabitation, the fastidious Monarch was resolved that his Parliament and his Convocation should, between them, untie or cut the knot that bound him to a yoke which he found intolerable. They addressed

Project of a marriage with Anne of Cleves.

The King's antipathy to her.

[1] See Todd's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 283—285.

themselves to the work with as much readiness, as if they had been constituted for no other earthly purpose but that of marrying or unmarrying their Sovereign at his pleasure. In July 1540, both Peers and Commons reminded their master, in a humble address, of the miseries incident to a disputed succession, and entreated of him to remove their anxiety, by ordering an inquiry into the doubts which had been raised respecting his marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves. His Majesty graciously promised to assuage the solicitude of his faithful subjects, by referring the matter to the Convocation. The Convocation found as little difficulty as the Secular Legislature; and by the 24th of July the King was at liberty to take a fifth wife.

The Convocation concur in the dissolution of the marriage.

There scarcely, perhaps, can be named, in all history, a transaction much more fitted than this, to render deliberative bodies contemptible. At first, the stale pretext of a precontract was resorted to. It is needless to relate how completely this ground sunk under the feet of the King, and his obsequious counsellors. Nothing therefore remained, but the flagitious pretence that, notwithstanding their seeming cohabitation, the lady had never been to him more than a sister; and that he had never given any internal consent to his matrimonial connection with her: an evasion which, if once admitted, would be sufficient to annul the most solemn personal engagements, or national treaties. That Gardiner should open the subject, as he did, "in à luculent harangue," on

behalf of his Majesty, is by no means a very surprising feature of the transaction; for Gardiner, and all his party, must, naturally enough, have dreaded a Protestant connection: and, in those days at least, where the interests of the Roman Catholic faith were the end, no means seem to have been thought disgraceful or unholy. But it is deeply distressing to think, that it should have been the fate of Cranmer to preside over this assembly. That he was able to endure the office, is explicable only on the ground, that the servility of infatuation was universal, and that the decision was not at variance with the canonical casuistry of the age. That he had some expedient or other for reconciling his conscience to this ridiculous solemnity, may be collected, with certainty, from a letter which he afterwards addressed to the King, when Henry's next wife, Catherine Howard, was under sentence of death, and an attempt was made, on the part of the Duke of Cleves, to procure the restoration of her conjugal rights to his degraded sister. In this letter the Archbishop says, "I decline to move your Grace to receive her in matrimony, from whom your Majesty was, *upon most just cause*, divorced; whereupon might grow great uncertitude of your Grace's succession, with such trouble and unquietness to this realm, as heretofore hath not been seen[1]." The

Cranmer presides at this business.

His views respecting it.

[1] From an Original MS. in the State-Paper Office; Todd's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 290. The judgment of the Convocation for

evil of a contested throne, seems, in those days, to have been perpetually starting up, like an apparition, in the path of statesmen and ecclesiastics, to fright them from their customary sense of decency and justice. And, by some it has been suspected, that its terrors were now aggravated to the eye of Cranmer, by the impending fate of Cromwell, who, at this period, was imprisoned on the charge for which he suffered. This surmise, however, (as we shall soon perceive [1]), can scarcely stand a moment before the fact, that, upon another very critical occasion,—which also occurred subsequently to Cromwell's commitment to the Tower,—the Archbishop displayed the most undaunted firmness; and was actually considered as a man doomed to destruction by his own temerity. And, besides, it must, in all fairness, be presumed, that he who could resist the command of the King to retire from the House of Lords, while the Statute of the Six Articles was under discussion, would hardly have laid his hand

annulling this marriage, may be seen in Burnet, b. iii. Rec. No. 19.

Nothing can mark more strongly the baseness of this whole proceeding, than the circumstance, that the sentence of the Convocation adverts to the want of consummation, as among the grounds for annulling the marriage. Is it possible that the Parliament and the Clergy can have forgotten that, ten years before, precisely the same objection had been started against the validity of Prince Arthur's marriage, and that *then* it was disregarded, because it stood in the way of Henry's separation from Catharine?

[1] See post, p. 223, 224.

on the cause of this divorce, if he had believed it to be altogether destitute of right.

The execution of Cromwell followed hard upon the dissolution of this inglorious Parliament. In the midst of his disgrace, he had been hunted down by the hatred of the nobility, and "baited by the rabble's curse:" and (as in the case of Anne Boleyn) the only voice raised in behalf of the fallen statesman was that of Archbishop Cranmer. Immediately on the arrest of the minister, he had endeavoured to recall the mind of the King to the long services of his favourite. The office here voluntarily undertaken by Cranmer, was one which required the utmost delicacy and address. To plead with a man like Henry, in the very plenitude of his power, was almost like talking to a drunken giant. A single injudicious syllable might make his passions blaze out with tenfold violence, and only bring down more swift and sure destruction upon the victim, whom the adventurous intercessor was labouring to save. Viewed by the light of these considerations, the letter of Cranmer to the King will appear to be the work of cordial friendship, directed by consummate prudence. He begins by expressing his sorrow and amazement that the Earl of Essex should be found a traitor. He describes Cromwell as a servant, such as no Prince in this realm ever had. He declares his belief, that if John, Edward II. and Richard II. had possessed such a counsellor, they would never have been so traitorously abandoned. He declares that he loved

Cranmer's intercession for Cromwell.

Cromwell as his own friend; but chiefly for the love which he seemed to bear towards the King. "But now," he adds, "*if he be* a traitor, I am sorry that I ever trusted him, and am glad that his treason is discovered in time. Alas! I bewail your Grace herein; for I know not now whom your Grace may trust." Having thus judiciously endeavoured to prevent any insurrection of the Royal resentment or suspicion, he skilfully reverts to the diligence and fidelity of the accused, in order that this might be the last impression left by the address. "I pray God," he says, "continually, night and day, to send *such* a counsellor in his place, whom your Grace may trust, and who, for all his qualities, can and will serve your Grace *like to him*, and that will have so much solicitude and care to preserve your Grace from all dangers, as I ever thought he had[1]."

It was on the 17th of June that the Bill of Attainder against Cromwell was produced in the House of Lords. All that is known of Cranmer, with respect to the proceeding, is, that he was absent on its first reading. It passed rapidly with the Peers: but the Commons were less expeditious. They detained it for ten days; and, after all, they sent back another bill, which seems to have met with immediate acquiescence; for it received the Royal assent on the same day[2]. If Cranmer, on this occasion, did not

1 Herb. p. 519. ed. 1683.

2 Lords' Journals.—See Henry's Hist. Engl. vol. xi. p. 317—320.

lift his arms against the torrent, it probably was, because the flood was so impetuous, that all opposition must have been nugatory. Among the nobles, the fallen minister had not a single friend : and the King, or his prevailing counsellors, were fully resolved on his destruction. The piteous cry of the condemned man for mercy [1], after his attainder, was as powerless with his master, as the humane and generous letter of the Archbishop had been before it. Both were like the whispering of the reed against the roar of the tempest; and on the 28th of July, Cromwell was led to the scaffold.

It may be justly said of Cromwell, that he was an extraordinary man, rather than a great one. Nevertheless, his death must have been a heavy blow to the cause of the Reformation. So long as he lived, the Roman Catholic faction had no security against the restoration of his influence. His experience and activity might, once more, be found useful to the King, and might, consequently, re-establish him in the Royal confidence. For this reason, they pursued him to his fate with unrelenting malignity; and, when he was taken off, Cranmer was left almost alone. His mind, however, seems, throughout, to have been unsubdued by the manifold discouragements and difficulties of his condition : and, shortly previous to the execution of Cromwell, a crisis occurred, which proved that his energies were not to be borne down

1540.

Cranmer left almost alone.

[1] His Letter to the King is printed in Burnet, vol. i. b. iii. Rec. No. 17.

by the tide which had then set in against the *new opinions*, as they were still pertinaciously called. It must here be premised, that nothing hitherto attempted by Henry, with the aid of his Parliament, his Convocation, and his Council, had been found to sweeten the waters of theological strife. The sanguinary scourge of the Six Articles was travelling through the land, and swelling the annals of our Martyrology. Traitors and Sacramentaries — the friends of the Papal authority, and the enemies to the Papal doctrine—were dragged on the same hurdle to the gibbet or the stake. The prisons were crowded with persons of suspected loyalty or orthodoxy. Judges, jailors, and executioners, began to be weary of their work; but still, there was no approach to pacific uniformity of opinion. This continued distraction of the public mind was regarded by Henry as a reproach both to his Royal and Ecclesiastical authority. It had, therefore, been determined by him and his Vicegerent, early in this year, that another vigorous effort should be made to accomplish that most impracticable of all objects, the *forcible* establishment of religious harmony. With this view, on the 14th of April, the Minister had opened the Parliament, in a speech in which he complained, in his Majesty's behalf, of the prevalent extremes of rashness and superstition. "The Scriptures," he said, "were now open to all; but little else than gross perversion had, hitherto, been the result of this indulgence; and the nation continued to be split into the two parties of Papists and of

Heretics. His Majesty was therefore finally resolved, that concord should be restored by a solemn inquiry into the Scriptural verity, the result of which should be laid before his people." Conformably to this declaration, a Commission was nominated, consisting of various Prelates and Divines, with the Archbishop at their head; and, in the July following, an Act was passed, ordaining that the Formulary to be agreed upon by the Commissioners, should be received with implicit obedience, as the rule both of practice and belief.

Cranmer's firmness in opposing the intended Popish Formulary.

The predominance of Romish counsels speedily began to manifest itself in the deliberations of this assembly: and no sooner had Cromwell been sent to the Tower, than a desperate effort was made by the great body of the Commissioners, to bear down the authority and resolution of the Archbishop, and to extort from him a consent to a set of articles, which would have effectually re-established the dominion of Error and Superstition. Doubtless to their great surprise, they found the Primate immoveable. In vain did they despatch to him two of the Commissioners, Bishops Heath and Skyp, (of Rochester and Hereford), both of them personal friends of Cranmer, and both of them hitherto well disposed to the Protestant cause. In vain did these deserters acquit themselves of their disreputable office, by representing to the Archbishop, that the King was notoriously resolved on the publication of Articles agreeable to the Romanists; and that his Lordship might learn, from the approaching

fate of Cromwell, how utterly hopeless would be all opposition to the Royal pleasure. "Beware what you do," was Cranmer's reply: "the truth is but one; and, though the King is now *under sinister information*, I cannot believe that the truth will long be hidden from him; and, when he shall discover it, there will be an end of all his trust and confidence in you. I therefore adjure you to take heed in time, and to discharge your consciences in maintenance of the truth." This remonstrance must have covered his tempters with shame, though it unhappily failed to rally their integrity. The Primate,—finding that they, and the rest of their brethren, were still determined to persevere in their design,—without further delay, represented the whole matter to the King. Nothing, probably, can have surpassed the astonishment of his adversaries at this hazardous resolution, except it were their secret exultation. They anticipated no other result from it, than the instant commitment of the Archbishop, as an audacious abettor of heresy; and wagers are said to have been laid in London, that he would share the imprisonment and the fate of Cromwell. What, then, must have been the consternation of his enemies, when they found that, instead of sending him to the Tower, the King had, not only endured, but adopted, his suggestions, and had given his sanction to a set of Articles, such as the Archbishop could approve! His honesty and courage seem to have been generously appreciated by his master; for,

Cranmer's fall anticipated.

Noble fidelity of the King to Cranmer.

"from that day forward, there could neither Counsellor, Bishop, nor Papist, win him out of the King's favour[1]."

This same year was distinguished by another memorable defeat of Romish principles. Notwithstanding the repeated injunctions which had, from time to time, been issued for providing every Church with an English Bible, there were many parishes in England still unfurnished with the Sacred volume. For this reason, a Royal proclamation had been issued in May, to enforce the ordinance in question, on the penalty of 40 shillings a month, so long as the omission should

Proclamation to enforce the placing of the Bible in Churches.

[1] Foxe, in Eccl. Biogr. vol. iii. p. 476, 477. Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. i. c. 48. Strype's Cranmer, b. i. c. 20. These Articles of 1540, are printed in the Appendix, No. 102, to vol. i. of Strype's Eccl. Mem. and, as the historian observes, "were probably intended to contain the public judgment and professed doctrine of the Church of England, as they constantly commence with the phrases, *docemus, credimus*." The titles of these articles are—1. De Ecclesiâ. 2. De Justificatione. 3. De Eucharistiâ. 4. De Baptismo. 5. De Penitentiâ. 6. De Sacramentorum usu.—In the 3d article the Roman Catholic *Sacramental* Doctrine is steadily and distinctly maintained. The 5th article affirms the *necessity* of auricular confession, but contains some wise and salutary cautions against the ensnaring practice of a very minute and circumstantial enumeration of sins. The doctrine of the 25th, 26th, and 34th of our *present* articles are, essentially, the same with that of the first and sixth of these Articles of 1540; which, again, are obviously derived from the confession of Augsburgh.—See Laur. Bampt. Lect. Serm. i. Note 6.

continue. A new edition of the Bible had then recently appeared—the same which had been prepared in France, under the patronage and protection of Boner, when he was Ambassador at Paris, and an adherent of the Reformation. It had been subsequently completed in England, from the remainder of the copies which had escaped the fury of the French Inquisition; and it now appeared in the form of a large folio, enriched with a noble Preface, by the Archbishop, and consequently known by the title of *Cranmer's Bible;* and this was the version which was now to be distributed. Boner was, at this time, Bishop of London; and entirely a different man from what he had been during the ascendency of Cromwell. The promptness and precision with which he had faced about, to meet the changes of the time, were truly wonderful! The Vicar-General had been his patron and his friend: and to the good opinion of that minister, he was chiefly indebted for the advancement of his fortunes. But no sooner was the Sejanus of the day in disgrace, than the eyes of the sagacious Divine were instantly open to the delinquencies of his benefactor: and when Gratton, the printer, informed him, sorrowfully, of the Earl of Essex's apprehension, his reply was—"What! are you grieved at that: it were well if *he* had been despatched long ago." Of course, the unsealing of the Scriptures was now no welcome order to the *reclaimed* Prelate of London Diocese. He was, however, compelled to acquiesce in the Royal mandate;

and six Bibles were accordingly fixed at convenient places in his cathedral. The injunctions which he issued to prevent the abuse of this indulgence were, in themselves, reasonable enough; they required that the book should be devoutly and reverently perused, without tumult, or interruption to the Divine service, and, above all, without any attempt at exposition. It might easily be foreseen, that these useful cautions would be frequently violated or forgotten; and, further, that in the fermentation of eager inquiry, a multitude of opinions, hostile to the ancient superstition, would develope themselves with considerable violence. Symptoms like these were seized upon by Boner and his party, as a pretence for complaint against the evils of Biblical reading, and for a threat that the permission should be altogether withdrawn, if it were not used with more discretion. At this period the menace was abortive: but two years afterwards the exertions of the Romish faction were, unfortunately, more successful; and the King was prevailed upon to recall his sanction from the free and public perusal of the Scriptures, and to suppress the practice for the remainder of his reign[1].

Cathedral Church of Canterbury restored to the State of a Deanery and Chapter.

Before the expiration of 1540, the Cathedral Church of Canterbury was solemnly restored, under the auspices of Cranmer, from the monastic state of a Priory, to the original condition of a Deanery and Chapter; in which condition it had existed, with slight

[1] Strype's Cranmer, b. i. c. 12. Fox. Burnet, b. iii.

interruptions, until the Norman Conquest, and the Primacy of Lanfranc[1]. After the removal of the Monks, and the substitution of Prebendaries, (of whom the illustrious Nicolas Ridley was one), the next object was to attach a Grammar School to the Cathedral. The prejudices displayed on this occasion, by the persons who were joined with Cranmer in the commission, appear to have been of a very aristocratic complexion; for they insisted on excluding the children of artisans and ploughmen, and confining the benefits of the establishment to the sons or younger brethren of gentlemen. This ungracious proposition was as strenuously resisted by the Archbishop as if he himself had risen, indeed, from the condition of an *ostler*, instead of being descended from an ancient and reputable family. It is needless to detail the arguments with which he confounded the illiberality of his colleagues; they are familiar to every intelligent mind at the present day. In a few words, the substance of his reasoning was, that, although it was very necessary that there should be labouring men, it was not at all necessary to deprive them of all chance of emerging from a state of indigence and drudgery: and further, that it was

Cranmer's benevolent views respecting Canterbury Grammar School.

[1] Wharton, Anglo. Sacra. vol. i. p. 135. His words are,—"Henricus, Decanorum ultimus, qui jubente Lanfranco,—(Ecclesiam Christi Cantuar. jam reformante)—Decani titulum in Prioris nomen commutavit."—This is one of the numerous Papal *reformations*, which have often been pertinaciously identified with the original and immemorial institutions of the Church.

not only unnecessary, but extremely pernicious, to defraud the public of the industry and talents, which Almighty God has distributed at least as liberally among the lower, as the more exalted orders of society. And when it was urged that martial exercises formed an indispensable portion of the discipline by which the nobility were prepared for high station, his answer was, that mental accomplishment was of far higher value, both in civil and military offices. And his conclusion, upon the whole matter, was, "if the gentleman's son be apt for learning, let him be admitted; if *not* apt, let the poor man's child, that *is* apt, be admitted in his room [1]."

In the course of the following year, a most painful duty was imposed upon the Primate, 1541.
which it was, perhaps, equally hazardous to perform or to decline. He was charged with the distressing office of communicating to the Monarch the dissolute conduct of his fifth wife Catharine Howard. On All Saints' Day his Majesty received the Sacrament in the Royal Chapel, at Hampton Court, and on that occasion rendered his thanksgivings to the Author of all good, for bestowing on him the blessing of so admirable a consort. On the very next day, the Archbishop approached him with a tale, which dissipated in an instant his visions of connubial bliss, and awakened him to a revolting and humiliating reality! The information, so fatal to the peace of Henry, had been imparted to Cranmer by

[1] Strype's Cranmer, b. i. c. 22.

one Lascelles, previously to the King's return from his recent excursion to the North: and the tenor of it was such as to fix upon the Queen the charge of gross, and even habitual profligacy. The statements made to him were such as impelled him, without loss of time, to consult the Lord Chancellor Audley, and the Earl of Hertford. The prudent courtiers declined any participation in the perilous office of communicating this most unwelcome intelligence to their Sovereign. The affair, they said, had been disclosed to the Archbishop; and to him, therefore, appertained the duty of making known the purport of it to the King. On Cranmer, accordingly, was thrown the painful and appalling task of imparting to his Majesty a statement, which might possibly involve the reporter of it in immediate ruin. With his usual caution and wisdom, the Archbishop reduced to writing the fearful particulars revealed to him, and placed the paper in the hands of Henry, on the very day which followed his devout expressions of gratitude for the virtues and excellences of his Queen! The sequel is well known. After his first agony and consternation were over, the King ordered a complete investigation of the matter. The aid of Parliament was called in, as usual. The Queen, and the supposed companion of her guilt, were attainted; and when the unhappy lady was led to the block, she fully confessed that, previously to her marriage, her life had been dissolute to the full extent imputed to

Information brought to Cranmer of the unfaithfulness of the Queen, Catharine Howard.

The matter communicated by him to the King.

her; but she is said to have persisted to the last in denying that she had been an adulterous or unfaithful Consort to the King[1].

It is remarkable, that the story of the Queen's depravity has been circumstantially told in a letter to Lord Paget, penned, as it would seem, by her own uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, and signed by the Lords of the Council, (several of whom were zealous Romanists), and, among them, by Stephen Gardiner, the main pillar of the Romish interest, and the man who had been chiefly instrumental in Catharine's elevation. Their account of the matter is delivered in language, which intimates not the faintest doubt of her antenuptial misconduct, and very little respecting that which is supposed to have followed her marriage[2].

[1] In the account of her execution, given by Mr. Otwell Johnson, who was an eye-witness of it, her confessions are without any such limitation. Both she and her worthless accomplice, Lady Rochfort, acknowledged that they were worthily punished with death, for their "offences against God from their youth up, in breaking all his commandments, and also against the King's Royal Majesty, very dangerously."—Ellis's Orig. Lett. first series. No. 147.

[2] Herb. p. 532—535. ed. 1683. It has been stated, that Catharine was the victim of "a plot, woven by the industry of the Reformers, who were her enemies;" and it is, moreover, insinuated, that she and her confidante, Lady Rochfort, "were both sacrificed to the *manes* of Anne Boleyn." (Ling. Hist. Eng. vol. vi. p. 407. 410.) Not a fragment of proof has been produced in support of either of these suppositions: and all the testimony we actually possess, is directly at variance with them.

The same account is strongly confirmed by her examination before the Primate, in which she distinctly admits her criminal intimacy with one of her alleged paramours [1]. And, lastly, a letter of Cranmer to the King has very recently been brought to light, which also reports, that she made an unreserved acknowledgment of her guilt. From this document it would appear, that he had been dispatched to the Tower with a promise of mercy. He found Catharine in such frantic agitation, that he was fain to open his interview at once, with the gracious message of his Majesty. The effect of this communication is thus described by him: "After I had declared your Grace's mercy extended unto her, she held up her hands, and gave most humble thanks unto your Majesty, who had showed unto her more grace and mercy than she herself thought meet to sue for, or could have hoped of." And, again, she exclaimed, "Alas! my lord, that I am now alive. The fear of death grieved me not so much before, as doth now the remembrance of the King's goodness. . . . . The more I consider the greatness of his mercy, the more I do sorrow in my heart *that I should so misorder myself against his Majesty*." The letter then proceeds to state, that she persisted in denying any precontract with her paramour Derham: and it adds that, after Cranmer's departure, she began to "excuse and temper" her confessions, and to affirm, that

Interview of Cranmer with the Queen.

[1] Burnet, vol. iii. Rec. No. 72.

her commerce with Derham was the effect of his importunity, amounting almost to violence, rather than of her own "free will and consent[1]."

After all this, it must require more than usual hardihood, to persist in talking of "a plot woven by the industry of the Reformers," in order to secure a victim, which they might "sacrifice to the manes of Anne Boleyn[2]." It may not, however, be quite so easy a task to defend the King, as to vindicate his Protestant counsellors. If the "grace and mercy" above alluded to, amounted to a promise of life, the Queen was inhumanly deceived by him. The only indulgence she experienced was a respite of two or three months. On the 13th of February she was dragged to execution; and thus another deep stain of blood was dropped upon the page of Henry's domestic history.

Execution of Catharine Howard.

[1] This letter is dated November. It is printed from the original MS. in the State Paper office, in Todd's Cranm. vol. i. p. 316.
[2] Ling. See note 2, preceding page.

CHAPTER IX.

Attempts of the Papists for a revision of the English Bible—Portions of the Bible appointed to be read by the minister, in Church—Reformation in Scotland—Certain questions proposed to the English Divines by the King—Cranmer's answer to them—The "King's Book"—Cranmer's visitation of his diocese—The King marries Catharine Parr—Abortive conspiracy for the ruin of Cranmer—Act for mitigating the Six Articles—Gostwick's attack on Cranmer—Alteration of Cranmer's armorial device—English Litany—Cranmer's attempts at more effectual Reformation, defeated—Another fruitless plot against Cranmer—Cranmer falsely accused of mean housekeeping, by Seymour—Orders for the removal of Images which had been used superstitiously—English Prayers partially allowed—Anne Askew—Cranmer not concerned in her persecution—Death of Henry VIII.—Reflections on his character and government.

1542.

IN spite of the recent defeats sustained by the Romish party, the struggle between the ancient and the reformed principles was still continued with unabated obstinacy; so that the Primate was compelled to stand incessantly on the watch. In the course of the last year, a new edition of the English Bible had been published by authority, under the superintendence of Tonstal and Heath: but, nevertheless, the clamour of the Romanists was urgent for

Attempts of the Papists for a revision of the English Bible.

a fresh revision; and Gardiner, more particularly, insisted on a retention, in the Latin form, of a number of words and phrases, the genuine sense and majesty of which, as he contended, the English tongue was incapable of representing[1]. It was therefore proposed to the Convocation, that the Bishops should divide between them the task of a complete revisal. The Primate saw the danger of this insidious suggestion; and he diverted it, by moving that the business should be confided to the Universities. He was unshaken by the groundless objection that those learned bodies were then in no condition to undertake so arduous an office; and he silenced all further opposition to his own measure, by obtaining the concurrence of the King. The project, however, seems to have fallen to the ground: and the only advantage derived from the victory, was the preservation of the sacred text from the unfaithful handling of Romish theology[2]. In the course of another twelvemonth, indeed, the anti-scripturists obtained a calamitous triumph. The King by that time was so wearied and perplexed by the spirit of dissension which was still abroad, that he began almost to repent of his liberality, and seemed disposed to suppress all writings on religious subjects, without distinction: and in this mood, probably, it was, that he

[1] Wilk. Conc. vol. iii. p. 861. where a list may be found of the Latin words upon which Gardiner had set his heart.

[2] Or, in the language of Fuller, the saving it from the policy of Gardiner, who being unable to extinguish the light, was for putting it into a dark lantern. And see Collier, ii. p. 185.

consented to the prohibition of Tindal's English Bible, and to an order for obliterating all prologues and annotations from every existing copy. The perusal of Scripture, it is true, was not wholly forbidden; but it was permitted under a variety of capricious and arbitrary limitations. The indulgence was confined to noblemen and gentlemen, who might read it to their families, within the precincts of their gardens, or their orchards; to merchants, who were permitted to peruse it alone and privately; and to women, who, if of noble, or of gentle blood, might enjoy the same solitary privilege. Imprisonment, and subsequently, corporal punishment, was to be the lot of every artificer or husbandman, who should be detected in this forbidden occupation; and these vexatious restrictions continued unmitigated for the remainder of Henry's life.

Notwithstanding the repeated proclamations and injunctions which had been issued for the abolition of superstitious practices, the exertions of the Primate were still incessantly required for their effectual suppression. In the autumn of the preceding year, he had prevailed upon the King to issue a letter for the more general destruction of shrines, and other "monuments of miracles[1]:" and early in this year he called the attention of the Convocation to the wax candles, and the silken habits, and other costly trumpery, which were still lavished on the images of saints; and insisted that these reliques of idolatrous

[1] Strype, Cranm. b. i. c. 23.

vanity should be rigorously extirpated. He also endeavoured to procure a correction of the ritual, and the purification of the service book from a miscellaneous collection of legendary trifles, and more especially, from all mention of the Bishop of Rome. These proposals, however, slept in the reluctant and sluggish ears of the Clergy; and nothing of much importance could be achieved for these purposes, during the present reign[1]. One memorable improvement, indeed, was at this time introduced into the public worship. It was ordered, that a chapter out of the Bible should be read in English, by the minister, after the *Te Deum*, and the *Magnificat* respectively, and so on till the whole of the Book should be read through, in regular succession: but no attempt at commentary on the sacred text was allowed to accompany this exercise[2].

Portions of the Bible appointed to be read by the Minister, in Church.

The compendious nature of this narrative makes it necessary here, as in some other places, to pass over several of the lighter labours of the Archbishop; such, for instance, as his visitation of All Souls' College, Oxford, which had contracted an evil name for luxurious habits, and neglect of discipline and study[3]; and his publication of sumptuary rules, to limit the

[1] Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. i. c. 50. Coll. vol. ii. 185.

[2] Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. i. c. 50.

[3] The College, says Cranmer's Register, was scandalous for its "compotations, ingurgitations, and enormous comessations." Strype, Cranm. b. i. c. 23.

extravagance of clerical entertainments [1]. It would, however, be injurious to his memory to omit, that this year accidentally furnished him with an opportunity of being mainly instrumental to the religious Reformation of Scotland.

Reformation in Scotland.

Up to that time, the Scottish people had looked, almost with detestation, upon the schismatical proceedings of their southern neighbours. No pains had been spared by Henry to invite and encourage them to an imitation of his policy. He had instructed his sagacious ambassador, Sir Ralph Sadler, to give the Scottish King a taste for Reformation, by exciting his relish for the plunder of the monasteries. He had caused the Bishop of St. David's, Dr. Barlow, to carry into Scotland *the Institution of a Christian man.* But both the diplomatic and the spiritual missionary were sent in vain. They preached, it seems, to a perverse and crooked generation, who, in spite of all appeals to their secular passions, or religious feelings, still persisted in scowling with disdain upon their heretical adversaries and rivals. The fervid and jealous temper of the Scots made them bitterly

[1] These rules may be seen in Wilk. Conc. vol. iii. p. 862. They graduate the scale of entertainment with edifying precision, according to the rank of the ecclesiastic. For instance, an Archbishop might have six blackbirds in a dish, a Bishop only four, the other degrees three, &c. &c. &c. As might be expected, these regulations speedily fell into oblivion. A memorandum is subjoined to this most culinary ordinance, which informs us, that "the order was kept up for *two or three months!* till, by the disusing of certain wilful persons, it came to the old excess."

averse from receiving the improvement of their *Church* at the hand of a monarch, who was labouring to reduce their *State* to a condition of vassalage. All hope of sympathy or concord, either political or ecclesiastical, seemed to be effectually extinguished by the warlike measures of Henry; and more especially by the manifesto, in which he claimed, for the Crown of England, the duty of feudal homage from the Kings of Scotland. And yet,—so unsearchable are the ways of Providence,—the very circumstances which threatened with total failure all these projects of religious change, turned out eventually to be the great occasion of promoting them. The disgraceful and calamitous defeat of Solway Moss, threw into the hands of the English a multitude of prisoners, among whom were many Scottish noblemen of distinguished rank. These illustrious captives were treated with the most generous confidence. They were commended by the King to the hospitality of his courtiers; and it so happened, that the Earl of Cassilis was the appointed guest of Archbishop Cranmer; with whom he lived under no other restraint than that of his parole of honour. At Lambeth, the Earl found himself in the best school of learning, philosophy, and religion; and there it was that he gradually imbibed the principles of the Protestant faith, and divested himself of his prejudices against the people, who had shaken off the yoke of Papal oppression. These notions, both he, and several of his brethren in captivity, soon carried back with them into their own country. The seeds of the Reforma-

tion were thus widely scattered in Scotland: and it is well known with what vigour, we might perhaps say, with what rank luxuriance, they afterwards sprung up[1].

We now proceed to the next momentous employment of the Archbishop, namely, the preparation of the formulary known by the title of "*the Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian man.*" It will be remembered, that in 1540, the Archbishop had succeeded in baffling the efforts of the Romanists to establish a short code of Articles, favourable to their own principles, and in substituting for it a sounder compilation. It appears, however, that the deliberations connected with this attempt were not discontinued.

Certain questions proposed to the Divines by the King.

Certain questions, seventeen in number, had been distributed by the King's order, among the Commissioners, for their leisurely consideration: and the answers both of Cranmer and his colleagues have been preserved[2]. The first eight of them relate to the nature and number of the Sacraments; the next eight, to the authority of Bishops and Priests, and to the power of Christian magistrates in the Church. The seventeenth and last of them inquires whether extreme unction, as then used, had the sanction of Scripture, or of any ancient authors.

Cranmer's answer to these questions.

The most remarkable peculiarity of Cranmer's reply to these questions, is the strangeness of the notions inculcated by him, re-

[1] Burnet, vol. i. p. 318—321. ed. 1679.
[2] See Burnet, vol. i. b. iii. Rec. 21.

lative to ecclesiastical functions. He maintains that the appointment to spiritual offices belongs indifferently to Bishops, to Princes, or to the people, according to the pressure of existing circumstances. He affirms the original identity of Bishops and Presbyters; and contends that nothing more than mere election, or appointment, is essential to the sacerdotal office, without consecration, or any other solemnity. And lastly, he declares, that they who are not spiritual persons, may, nevertheless, inflict excommunication, if the law of the land authorizes them so to do. It would be difficult fully to account for the entrance of opinions such as these into the mind of Cranmer. They were some of them undoubtedly very much in harmony with the habitual notions of his master, whose appetite for dominion was rendered quite insatiable by his investment with the supremacy; and who may have been goaded into a deeper conviction of the necessity of despotism, by the distractions incident to a great religious revolution. It is also possible, that these dangerous speculations may for a time have been rendered digestible to Cranmer's own conscience, by his abhorrence of Pontifical tyranny, and by the sanguinary violence of his Romish adversaries. But, whatever might be the source of the notions here expressed by him, it is perfectly clear that he did not long retain this system of opinions. And that he did not, even at this period, repose much confidence in their soundness, is evident from the following pacific declaration, subjoined by him to his answer. "This is mine opinion; which I do not temerariously define,

but remit the judgment thereof wholly unto your Majesty."

The work which emerged from the depths of all this investigation and toil, was little more than a new edition of the *Institution*, or Bishop's Book, with its title slightly altered. It was now called the Erudition of a Christian man, or popularly, the *King's Book;* for it came forth to the world with a Preface in the name of his Majesty, and was therefore understood to speak emphatically, the sentiments of the Supreme Head of the Church of England. If we except some additional matter respecting free-will, justification, good works, and prayer for departed souls, it is in substance the same as the former compilation. But the breath of Romanism had passed over it, and tarnished, here and there, the lustre and purity of several important doctrines. For instance, the doctrine of our original depravity and corruption, which was expressly, and somewhat copiously, maintained in the *Institution*, is scarcely alluded to in the corresponding passage of the *Erudition*[1].—Again, in the one, the sufferings of our Lord are described as an expiation or propitiation, as well for original, as for actual sin; the other, briefly and generally, acknowledges the good offices of the Saviour, as performed by a High Priest, for the remission of sin; but it principally insists on the exemplary patience and meekness with which those suf-

The King's Book.

[1] See Bishop Lloyd's Edit of these Formularies, p. 34. 35. 40. 42. and 230. 234. Oxf. 1825.

ferings were endured [1]. The Bishop's Book declares, that if there were no other commandment besides the tenth, that one alone would be sufficient for the condemnation of every man, if God should enter into "*strait judgment*" with him. But this confession was much too strong for the digestion of a Romish conscience; and therefore we shall look in vain for any thing approaching to it in the King's Book, which confines the guilt of coveting, to a deliberate design on the possessions of our neighbour [2]. The spirit which withstood the German Divines, and framed the scourge of the Six Articles, is still more clearly manifested in the later exposition of the Sacrament of matrimony. The *Institution* had left the Christian liberty of all men, whether lay or clerical, untouched in this particular; while its successor seems to recognize the lawfulness of vows of celibacy [3]. To confine ourselves to one more instance: The Bishop's Book expresses the great Sacramental doctrine, in language which might almost have satisfied a Lutheran: whereas the *change of substance* is maintained by the King's Book in terms much more carefully accommodated to Romish ears [4].

Such was the formulary now to be substituted for the Bible. The Royal Preface to it declared, that the Church of England resembled the swept and

[1] See Bishop Lloyd's Edit. of these Formularies, p. 34. 35. 40. 42. and 230. 234. Oxf. 1825.

[2] Formularies, p. 172. 333.

[3] Ibid. p. 82. 252.

[4] Ibid. p. 100. 262.

garnished house,—that superstition and hypocrisy had been, indeed, cast out,—but that the worse spirits of arrogance, carnal liberty, and contention, had entered in,—that, in order to counteract their working, a declaration of the true knowledge of God had been set forth by his Majesty, which might teach every thing necessary for a Christian man to know,—that the study of the Sacred volume itself might be indispensable for those whose office it was to teach,—but that "for those who were to be taught, it was not so needful, but that the Prince, and the *policy* of the realm, might lawfully restrain it,"—and, lastly, that such restraint being now found requisite, it would be sufficient for the people to imprint the lessons of their teachers inwardly in their hearts, and to express them outwardly in their deeds, so that they might inherit the blessing promised to them that "hear the word and keep it[1]." The stroke of state *policy*, announced in this manifesto, was itself a fearful step backwards in the journey of the Reformation. It must have reminded the Reformers of the circuitous wanderings of Israel in the wilderness. The land of promise, however, was constantly in the eye and in the heart of their patient and watchful conductor: and to his firmness it must, beyond all doubt, be ascribed, that the retrograde movement towards the house of bondage, was not still more disastrous[2].

It was not till the end of May, 1543, that the
1543. *Erudition* issued from the press; and

[1] Formul. p. 215—219. [2] Strype's Cranmer, c. 24.

when once it came forth, the Archbishop, in strict conformity with his principles of submission to the Royal Supremacy, forbade his Clergy to preach or argue even against those portions of it which he himself disapproved. He well knew that the hand of Gardiner had been busy in the work: but he was willing, for the present, to make the most of its genuine ingredients, and to hope that better times would, eventually, clear it from all adulteration[1]. In the September following, he held a visitation at Canterbury: and nothing can be well imagined more whimsical and fantastic than the spectacle which his Diocese exhibited! The Gospellers presented the Catholics for such gambols of superstitious folly, as will scarcely be credited at the present day; such, for example, as employing holy water and bell-ringing to still the thunder, and to drive away the devils,—using holy candles for the purposes of vindictive sorcery,—pouring red hot coals on the grave of the Archbishop's Chaplain, to signify the death which so rank a heretic had deserved,—affirming that Moses had sent letters from hell to describe the condition of impenitent and reprobate spirits,—teaching that, as the moon is full at 14 days, the virgin must have conceived Christ at the age of 14 years, and that the milk with which she fed him came down from heaven! The Papists, on their part, were abundantly provided with articles against the Gospellers: but they could

Cranmer's Visitation of his Diocese.

[1] Strype's Cranmer, c. 25.

muster nothing half so ridiculous as their own absurdities. Some fanatical extravagancies, however, they certainly did produce. One of the men of *the new learning* had ventured to affirm, that the dedication of Churches was no better than so much *conjuring*, contrived originally for the sole purpose of filling the pockets of those great professors of legerdemain, the Bishops. Another had preached that masters and mistresses were positively *bound* to edify their families, by eating eggs, butter, and cheese, in Lent. A third declared that all material Churches, gorgeously built, and richly decorated, were not approved, but only endured by Almighty God; just as "a Father contenteth a child with an apple or a hobby-horse," not for his own delight, but solely for the amusement of the child. The brother of the Primate, Archdeacon Cranmer, and Nicolas Ridley, then Vicar of Herne, could neither of them escape. The one had taken away three lamp-tapers, which were burning before the Sacrament, from St. Andrew's Church, in Canterbury; and, moreover, had broken a rood to pieces, after first stripping off its coat. The other had been guilty of the enormous assertion, that auricular confession was merely a positive law, and not to be found in Scripture; and that, in themselves, the solemnities of the Church merited no worthier a name than *beggarly ceremonies* [1].

[1] These, and a multitude of other curious presentments, all extracted from the papers of the Archbishop, may be found in Strype's Cranmer, b. i. c. 25.

The Archbishop was, of course, deeply concerned at witnessing this high Carnival of religious dissension in his own diocese: and for the purpose of bringing it to an end, he assembled the prebendaries and preachers before him in his consistory at Croydon, and endeavoured to establish peace and uniformity among them, by the paternal appliances of argument, exhortation, and reproof. To one who had preached in vindication of images, he explained that the only difference between *image* and *idol* is, that the one is Latin and the other Greek. This exposition, however, simple and inoffensive as it was, had no medicinal effect upon the temperament of this untractable patient. It turned instantly to gall; and, afterwards, broke out into all the bitterness of controversial preaching. Another expedient employed by him, was of much more questionable prudence; he manifested his impartiality and candour by the appointment of six preachers, three of the old learning, and three of the new. It was represented to him that this was not a very promising measure for the restoration of concord. But Cranmer replied that he had consulted the King, and that it was his Majesty's pleasure that so it should be. Had Henry been desirous of involving the Primate in peril and vexation, he could scarcely have contrived a proceeding more adapted to so treacherous a purpose. But the occurrences which were soon to follow, show that he could never have entertained a design so base; and that he was still faithful to the interests of his ancient friend and counsellor.

Gardiner was, at this time, high in the Royal confidence and estimation; and it had, of late, been generally rumoured, that his intrigues were manifestly taking a wider range. This persuasion was expressed by the popular saying, that "the Bishop of Winchester had bent his bow, and that the shaft was levelled at certain of the head deer." The sequel proved that, among the game on which his eye was fixed, was Archbishop Cranmer, and a personage still more exalted, even the Queen Consort of England, Catharine Parr. This Lady was the widow of Nevil, Lord Latimer, and had been promoted by Henry, in the course of this year, to the dangerous honours of his sixth wife. She was a person of singular virtue, intelligence, and piety; and, in her heart, a decided friend to the doctrines of the Reformation. Her attachment to Protestant principles was sufficiently well known, to re-animate, in some degree, the hopes of the Reformers, and to make her an object of hostility and aversion to the Papal party, and, more especially, to the Bishop of Winchester. How nearly he, and his confederates, succeeded in ultimately accomplishing her ruin, is related in all the histories of the time. She was, however, most fortunately preserved from their machinations, and was spared to render effective assistance to the Protestant cause, in the course of the succeeding reign.

Conspiracy for the ruin of Cranmer.

The Primate, as might have been expected, was the other great object of Gardiner's malignity: and his recent exertions,

for the correction of the diocese of Canterbury, appeared to furnish his adversaries with some advantage against him. Great hopes were entertained that his proceedings, for that purpose, might be found, in some respect or other, at variance with the Statute of the Six Articles; which, at that period, was rigorously enforced. The greater portion of the Prebendaries of his Cathedral were still warmly attached to the ancient system; and they were, consequently, so ill affected towards the Archbishop, that they could scarcely conceal their malice under a decent exterior of respect. Such men were admirably qualified for the office of conspirators against their Diocesan and Metropolitan. Deriving great encouragement from the notorious dispositions and powerful influence of Gardiner, they, accordingly, addressed themselves to the fabrication of a plot for his ruin: and it must be confessed that they pursued their object with unwearied perseverance and consummate craft. A succession of meetings were held,—a regular scheme of perjured agency was organised,—and, at length, a voluminous mass of articles was collected. By these, the Archbishop was charged with discouraging and oppressing all preachers who refused to promote the new doctrines; with removing images which had never been honoured in any superstitious manner; and with various other unlawful abuses of his power; and, lastly, he was accused of holding a constant correspondence with the heretics of Germany. When the whole of these papers were complete, they were delivered by the Prebendaries to the

Council, and were then speedily deposited in the hands of Henry. His Majesty, after perusing them, ordered the Chancellor to see certain of the witnesses, and to inform them, that they might boldly speak to all matters within their knowledge, fearing none but God and the King.

It so happened that, shortly before this, the King had detected the activity of the Bishop of Winchester, in forwarding something of a similar design, against several persons about the Court, who were known to favour the Gospel: and the discovery began to impress him with a deep personal dislike for this crafty and unscrupulous Prelate[1]. Accordingly, no sooner had he well considered the papers against Cranmer, than it rushed into his mind, that the whole could be nothing more than a confederacy for his destruction, and that Gardiner was the life and soul of the design. Upon this conviction he acted with his usual promptness. He, one evening, ordered his barge, and repaired immediately to Lambeth, carrying with him the articles in his sleeve: and as soon as the Primate appeared on the steps by the water-side, he called him into the barge, and said to him, "O my Chaplain, now I know who is the greatest heretic in Kent!" He then produced the papers, and desired Cranmer to inspect them. The astonishment and agitation of the Archbishop were excessive, on find-

The plot against Cranmer defeated.

[1] Strype's Cranmer, b. i. c. 26, p. 119, (p. 157, 158, in Oxford edition.)

ing that members of his own Church, who were under obligations to him, and magistrates whom he had treated with kindness and respect, were now engaged in an atrocious league against him. He immediately kneeled down before the King, and solicited that the whole affair should be sifted by a Commission. "A Commission," said the King, "there shall be; but the Archbishop of Canterbury shall be the chief Commissioner, with such colleagues as he himself shall be pleased to appoint." It was to no purpose for Cranmer to remonstrate against the apparent partiality of such an arrangement. The King was inflexible; and Cranmer was compelled to plunge into the labyrinth of this painful investigation: till Henry, finding that he was in danger of being baffled by the artifices of his accusers, sent Dr. Legh, and Dr. Rowland Taylor (the martyr) to bring the matter to a speedy conclusion. The new Commissioners proceeded with the necessary vigour and dispatch. The houses of several of the conspirators were searched; and the result was the complete unravelling of a tissue of falsehood, perjury, and ingratitude, which would have been disgraceful even to men, whose regular trade was villany and fraud. Among the correspondence found in their chests, some letters were discovered from the Bishop of Winchester; others from Thornden, and Dr. Barber, who had both experienced the benevolence of the Primate. The former of these worthless men, Thornden, was once a monk of Canterbury, and the first Prebendary of the Church, when it became a

College of secular Canons. He was, soon after, made Suffragan of the Diocese, with the title of Bishop of Dover. He never attended the Archbishop without being invited to a seat at his own high table, an honour at that time seldom conferred on persons of his rank[1]: and now he was found among the practisers against the reputation and the life of his patron. The submission of these wretches was as abject, as their perfidy was odious: and so was that of the Prebendary Gardiner, a despicable tool of the Prelate his namesake. He had been treated by Cranmer like a son; and yet was among the foremost in the conspiracy. When he was discovered, he crawled to the feet of his injured benefactor, and besought his forgiveness in a letter addressed to "*His most honourable father.*" The Primate, with his customary lenity, dismissed his persecutors with a mild rebuke, and a full pardon: and by this eminent triumph of the Christian temper, he verified the saying which had long been current respecting him, —"Do my Lord of Canterbury a shrewd turn, and he is your friend for ever."

By way of relief from this hateful exhibition of malignity, let us turn for a moment to the fate of the chief incendiaries. Dr. London, one of the most active among them, died not long after, in the Fleet; probably of a spirit incurably broken by the disgrace of the pillory, which he brought upon himself by his perjuries, as a prosecutor under the Statute of the

[1] Wharton's Observations on Strype's Cranmer, App. 258.

bloody Articles. The Prebendary Gardiner was hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, for denying the King's supremacy. And Gardiner, the Bishop, was so irretrievably lowered in the opinion of the King, that although his Majesty still found it convenient to employ his diplomatic energy and shrewdness, he was never fully restored to the royal confidence or regard. Every one knows into what public infamy he afterwards emerged, as the Chancellor of Mary; and how he closed his life, engrained with the sanguinary honours of a persecutor[1].

In the month of December this year, the Archbishop sustained a severe domestic calamity. His palace at Canterbury was destroyed by fire, and his brother-in-law, with several other persons, perished in the flames. The misfortune disabled him from entertaining the Viceroy of Naples, who, in consequence of it, was consigned by the King to the hospitality of Lord Cobham[2].

1544.

The year 1544 was happily remarkable for another proof that the influence of the Primate was not entirely destroyed. That he still retained considerable power in the councils of his Sovereign, seems evident from an Act which was passed in the Parliament which met in January, 1544, for mitigating the severity of the Statute of the Six Arti-

Act for mitigating the Six Articles.

[1] Our limits are insufficient for all the minute details of this plot. They may be seen, at full length, in Strype's Cran. b. i. c. 26, 27.

[2] Lansdowne MSS. Brit. Mus. 980. fol. 188. B. i. cited in Todd's Cran. vol. i. p. 350.

cles. The efforts of the Primate to obtain this indulgence, were ençountered both by opposition and by treachery. He was encouraged by four Prelates to expect their assistance. To a man, however, they all deserted him ; and left him to an apparently desperate conflict with the Popish party. His exertions were probably rendered more hopeful, by the recent and abortive attempts of his adversaries, which may have disposed both the Legislature and the Sovereign to a favourable entertainment of his wise and merciful propositions. But, however this may be, his exertions were followed by an Act of Parliament, which provided, that no person should be put to his trial for any offence against the Six Articles, but upon the oath of twelve men,—that the presentment should be made within one year after the offence committed,—that no person should be arrested for any such offence before he should be indicted,—and, lastly, that any accusation for speaking or reading in opposition to the Articles, should be preferred within forty days of the alleged delinquency. By this statute the edge of the sanguinary enactment was in some degree blunted, and malicious conspiracy disarmed of a portion of its terrors [1].

Gostwick's attack on Cranmer.

The confusion recently heaped upon the enemies of Cranmer did not, however, extinguish the spirit of malignity which had of late been so dangerously active against him. In

[1] 35 Hen. VIII. c. 5. Burnet, vol. i. b. iii. p. 330. Herbert, p. 568. ad ann. 1544. Soames, vol. ii. p. 562.

the same Parliament which mitigated the operation of the Six Articles, a fiery Papist, named Sir John Gostwick, complained that the Archbishop, in his sermons at Canterbury and Sandwich, had spoken heretically on the sacrament of the altar. This man was a stranger in Kent, and had never heard a syllable from the lips of the person he accused. When the matter came to the ears of the King, his indignation knew no bounds. "Tell that *varlet* Gostwick," he said, "that he has played a villainous part to abuse, in open Parliament, the Primate of the realm. If he does not instantly acknowledge his fault to my Lord of Canterbury, I will make him the poorest Gostwick that ever bore the name. What! does he pretend that he, being in Bedfordshire, could hear my Lord of Canterbury preaching in Kent?" The roar of the lion silenced the busy *varlet* in a moment, and brought him in sore dismay, and with all possible speed, to Lambeth; where he submitted himself "in such sorrowful case," that he obtained from the placable Archbishop, not only his free forgiveness, but the good offices of his intercession with the King. His Majesty was not quite so easily appeased; but relaxed his wrath at last, on the condition that he should hear no more of this meddling knight of Bedfordshire[1]. It is evident, that at this period, Henry was distinctly and painfully aware of the sleepless enmity which was perpetually dogging

[1] Strype, Cranm. b. i. c. 28.

every step of Cranmer. When he first heard of Gostwick's attempt against him, he exclaimed, "What would they do with him, if I were gone[1]?" The same sentiment had, indeed, been expressed by him, long before this, in a manner which has in it something more of delicacy and pathos, than usually entered into the feelings of this stern and arbitrary man. As if he anticipated that the Primate would at length be called to show himself "faithful unto death" in the cause of truth, the King is said to have erased the three Cranes from his armorial device, and to have substituted three Pelicans in their stead; observing, that "those birds should signify unto him, that he must be ready, as the pelican is, to shed his blood for his young ones, nurtured in the faith of Christ. For," said he, "your blood is likely to be tasted, if you stand thus firmly to your tackling, in defence of your religion[2]." One is accustomed to imagine, that Henry was made of "sterner stuff," than to originate a suggestion of this interesting cast.

[1] Strype, Cranm. b. i. c. 28.

[2] The date of this alteration is not altogether certain; but it was assuredly earlier than 1544: for the Pelicans may be seen in the frontispiece of the great Bible of 1540. Strype, Cranm. b. i. c. 28. Oxford ed. note (*e*). It is true the arms of the Archbishop, in a window at Lambeth palace, bear three Cranes sable. But these were set up there by Archbishop Sancroft, together with the arms of the Archbishop who succeeded Cranmer. See Wharton's Observations on Strype's Cranm. App. p. 258. old paging.

The forms of public devotion were greatly improved, this year, by the introduction of an English Litany, with suffrages or responses; the whole essentially similar to that which, at this day, is in use among us. The invocation to the Virgin, to angels, and to saints, for their intercession, was, however, still retained: and a petition was introduced for deliverance "from the Bishop of Rome, and his detestable enormities." Certain devotional exercises were added, compiled from Scripture generally, but more especially from the Psalms; and a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer was subjoined, which presents a striking approximation to the true sense of Christ's presence in the sacrament. In conformity to the ancient notion, that the petition for *daily bread* contained a mystic allusion to the eucharist, the following expressions are introduced,—"the *lively bread* of the blessed body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the sacred cup of the precious and blessed blood, which was shed for us upon the cross,"—words which the most rigid Protestant might adopt without the slightest scruple. That these salutary innovations were substantially the work of Cranmer, can scarcely be doubted. The Royal ordinance which enjoins them is distinguished by a tone of pious solemnity, that seems to mark the Archbishop for the author of that document; and a letter addressed by him in October to the King, respecting the preparation of certain services in English, to be used on festival days, places it beyond all doubt, that he was the effec-

English Litany.

tive mover and agent in these useful measures of reform[1].

Cranmer's further attempts at Reformation defeated.

These, however, although valuable, were still but undecisive advantages. In spite of the almost Sisyphean labours of the Primate, there seemed to be about his path some hidden power, perpetually in readiness to roll back the stone, which he was toiling to heave upwards. The truth is, that the spirit of Gardiner was well nigh omnipresent. The King disliked and often mistrusted the man; but still he found his activity and penetration useful, and so, continued to employ him. In the course of this year he was sent by Henry to reside at the Imperial Court; and Cranmer was in hopes that his absence would, for the time, relieve the march of the Reformation from impediment. But in this expectation he was grievously disappointed. Not a step could be taken by him, but it was speedily known to his vigilant adversary; and before he could make any effectual progress, a dispatch arrived from Gardiner to intercept the Royal sanction, and to represent that any further innovation would fatally injure the continental designs and interests of his Master[2]. In addition to this unceasing resistance, the Archbishop had to deplore the retirement of Lord Audley, who had held the seals from the time of Sir T. More's

[1] Burnet, vol. i. b. iii. Rec. 28. Strype's Cranmer, b. i. c. 29. Todd's Cranm. vol. i. p. 351—357.

[2] Herb. p. 591. Ed. 1683. Strype's Cranmer, b. i. c. 30.

resignation, and who was now succeeded by the Lord Wriothesley, unhappily a decided adherent of Romanism. A still more calamitous loss was sustained by the death of the Duke of Suffolk, brother-in-law to the King, "a right hardy gentleman, but withal so discreet and affable, that he was beloved of all sorts, and his death greatly lamented[1]." His open straightforwardness of character, and his abstinence from political intrigue, secured him, without interruption, the attachment and confidence of the King; and enabled him to exert a steady, though noiseless influence, in favour of the Protestants, whose religious principles he had uniformly maintained.

1545.

Another fruitless plot against Cranmer.

It might naturally be supposed that the terrible failure experienced by the persecutors of Cranmer in the preceding year, would have crushed effectually the hopes and devices of his adversaries. But it was not so. The former confederacy had been chiefly conducted by churchmen. Another attempt of the same kind was now got up under the patronage of the Duke of Norfolk, and other members of the Council. The snake had been scotched but not destroyed. There was still remaining in the Diocese of Canterbury a residue of hostility and malice, which, with

[1] Herb. p. 591. When Henry was informed of the death of Charles Brandon, he exclaimed, in the hearing of certain of his Courtiers,—"God rest his soul! He was an honest man. And never did he speak an evil word of any man behind his back: which is more than I can say of some that are about me."

the aid of noble and powerful men, might be easily wrought up into another formidable plot. The process by which, on this occasion, the cauldron was filled and heated, is not distinctly to be ascertained. Thus much however is known—that, very soon after the Duke of Suffolk was in his grave, a complaint was laid before the King by certain members of his Council, that "the Archbishop and his learned men had so infected the whole realm with their unsavoury doctrine, that three parts out of four in the land were abominable heretics." And the suit of the petitioners was, that, out of pure regard for the safety of his Majesty and the peace of his dominions, "the Archbishop might immediately be committed to the Tower." And when his Majesty appeared to hesitate, they most dutifully represented that the Primate "was a member of the Privy Council; that if he were left at liberty no mortal would dare to utter a syllable against him; but that, if he were once in durance, the tongues and consciences of men would immediately be released from all restraint, and his Majesty's Counsellors would be enabled to search out the truth." To this incomparable reasoning his Majesty gave, to all appearance, the fullest acquiescence; and he authorised his trusty advisers to summon the Archbishop for the next day, and, if they should see fit, to order him into custody.

At eleven o'clock the same night, Henry despatched Sir Anthony Denny to Lambeth, with an order that Cranmer should instantly attend him at Westminster. The Archbishop, on receiving the message, arose

from his bed, and repaired to the King, whom he found in the gallery at Whitehall. His Majesty immediately communicated to him the charges which had been preferred against him by the Council, gravely adding, that he had acceded to their request. On this, Cranmer, with the humblest acknowledgments, protested his entire willingness to be committed to the Tower, provided always that he might not be deprived of the liberty of defending himself against his accusers. On this the King burst out—"O Lord God, what simplicity is yours, to submit to an imprisonment that must end in your ruin! Know you not this—that no sooner shall you be in the Tower, than false knaves will instantly come forward to arraign you,—who, if you were at liberty, should not dare to show their face? No, no,—not so, my Lord of Canterbury. Go you to the Council to-morrow; and when you appear before them, demand to be confronted with your accusers. Should there be a moment's hesitation, produce this ring, the sight of which will instantly bring the matter before me."

The next morning Cranmer followed implicitly the instructions of his Sovereign. By eight o'clock he was in attendance on the Council. They were not immediately prepared to call him in; and he was left in their ante-room among the lacquies and serving men in waiting! This brutal insult was soon reported to Dr. Butts, the King's physician; who, on entering the Royal apartment, mentioned that he had seen a strange sight that morning. The King desired him

to explain: on which Butts replied, the Primate of all England is become a serving-man: and, for the greater part of an hour he has been standing among his brethren of that function, at the door of the Council-chamber."—"Ha!" said Henry, "Is it so! they shall hear of this before long."—At last Cranmer was summoned; and when he had heard the complaint against him, he required that his accusers might be called before them, in his presence. This righteous request was made in vain. Their Lordships insisted on his immediate commitment to the Tower. On this he produced the ring delivered to him by his Majesty the night before. This most unwelcome apparition threw the august assembly into utter confusion; and extorted from Lord Russell the following exclamation,—confirmed with a mighty oath—"said I not true, my Lords, that the King would never endure that my Lord of Canterbury should be disgraced by imprisonment, for any cause less than arraignment of high treason?"

The magic of the ring brought the whole conclave, together with the supposed delinquent, at once into the Royal presence. "I thought," said Henry, "that I had a discreet Council. But what am I to say now? Is my Lord of Canterbury a slave, that you should keep him at the door of your chamber, like a serving-man? What would any of you say, if an indignity like this were offered to yourselves? I would have your Lordships to understand that the realm of England contains not a more faithful subject than I have ever found in my Lord of Canter-

bury; and he that pretends attachment to me, must be ready to show respect and honour to him." On this, the voice of deprecation and apology began, incontinently, to issue from the lips of the astounded Courtiers. "They meant no sort of injury to his Grace of Canterbury. They requested, it is true, that he might be committed to the Tower; but their sole object was that he might come forth from his confinement with augmented reputation and glory." "Is it even so?"—said Henry; "Think ye, then, that I discern not how the world goeth among you? Think ye that I see not the malice which sets you one against another? I counsel you, let it be avoided *out of hand*. And never again let my friends receive such usage as this at your hand." With these words he left them: and the scene that followed was eminently pacific. The men, who ten minutes before, had been digging a pitfall for his feet, now held out to Cranmer the right hand of reconciliation and friendship. The pledge was accepted by him with his usual clemency of temper: and the King, again, desired that the peace might be ratified between them, at the hospitable board of Lambeth Palace[1].

Cranmer falsely accused of mean housekeeping, by Seymour.

From this time to the end of Henry's life, conspiracy never more unkennelled her pack against the Primate. But still his footsteps were occasionally pursued by the barkings of calumny and *evil will*. If he could not be proved a traitor or a heretic, it might be

[1] Strype, Cranmer, b. i. c. 28.

something to expose him as a mean and avaricious Prelate. Among his detractors was Sir John Seymour, brother to him who afterwards became Protector. It was whispered by this gentleman to the King, that the revenues of the Primacy were not now employed in maintaining the dignified hospitality which became so eminent a station. His Majesty, at the time, appeared to notice the matter slightly: but, some weeks after, he despatched the informer with a message to Lambeth, about the hour of dinner. Seymour, accordingly, reached the Palace precisely in time to witness the becoming splendour and liberality of the Archbishop's establishment. He was immediately pressed to take a seat among the guests: and on his return to the King, he fell on his knees, and said, "I now find that I abused your Highness with an untruth: for, next to your Grace, I apprehend that there is not a table in the kingdom more nobly kept than that of my Lord of Canterbury [1]."—

[1] Nothing, in truth, could be more senseless than this complaint against Cranmer. Three tables were regularly spread in his hall. 1. The Archbishop's table, at which were seated persons of the highest quality and station. 2. The Almoner's table, for the Chaplains and all Clerical guests, beneath *Diocesan* Bishops, and Abbots. 3. The Steward's table, at which sate all other gentlemen. The Almoner's table was the proper place for Suffragan Bishops. It was therefore an unusual honour to admit Thornden, the Suffragan of Dover, to the first table: and the circumstance is an aggravation of his ingratitude in joining the Kentish conspiracy against Cranmer. See Wharton's Observations at the end of the App. to Strype's Cranmer, p. 258, or p. 1049. Oxf. Edit.—The orders of Cranmer's household are still

"Aye," said the King—"but I well perceive what you would be doing. With your good-will, the revenues of the Bishoprics should follow the same fate as the possessions of the Monasteries: but while I live, this shall never be[1]." The successors of Henry, were, unhappily, but ill disposed to adhere to this wise and generous resolution: and the consequences of their departure from it are bitterly felt to this day[2].

These instances of the King's fidelity to Cranmer, must always be placed among the redeeming parts of his history. It should be remembered that, at this time, he was constantly surrounded by Romish Counsellors,—that he was strongly tempted, both by his own religious prepossessions, and by the posture of his affairs abroad, to surrender himself to their influence,—and that, all this while, the Archbishop was known to be engaged in the advancement of Protestant principles, and was wringing concessions in their favour, "like drops of blood," from his unwilling Master. And yet the King showed himself ready, at any moment, to throw his shield over the man, whose urgency must often have been offensive

preserved at Lambeth (MSS. No. 884. No. 1145); and they show that his hospitality was splendid. See Todd's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 370, note (3).

[1] Morice's Narrative.

[2] *Commendams* have been, almost of necessity, introduced, to make out a sufficient income for the holders of those sees which have been impoverished by the rapacity of Nobles and Statesmen; and the Church is, consequently, assailed with the cry, that her Prelates are ravenous and insatiable Pluralists!

to his prejudices, and must sometimes have appeared to be in opposition to his interests, and even to the safety of his kingdom. This steadiness of regard is honourable alike to Henry, and to his venerable friend. On the one side, it argues a native generosity of heart, which even a life of despotism had been unable wholly to extinguish. On the other, it manifests the power of integrity, in fixing the esteem and attachment of a despot.

Among the chief difficulties experienced by Cranmer, was the King's prepossession in favour of images, and the adoration of the cross. He had frequently debated this matter with his Majesty, and once in the presence of Gardiner, who declared that "the King had so discussed it, that all the clerks in Christendom could not mend it." But the calm perseverance of the Primate prevailed, at last, to this extent,—that orders were given for the removal of all images which had been superstitiously approached. The practice of kneeling and creeping to the cross, was retained by Henry with so much fondness, that it required all the address of Cranmer to win it from him. By patience and moderation, however, he succeeded; and this absurdity was at length cast aside, among other worthless and forgotten things [1]. He likewise obtained the Royal consent to the partial use of English prayers. This consent was expressed by the

Orders for the removal of Images, which had been used superstitiously.

English prayers partially allowed.

[1] Strype's Cranmer, b. i. c. 30.

King in the form of a Preface to the English Primer, with Psalms and Lessons out of the New Testament; which so vehemently stirred the rage of the Romanists at Oxford, that they publicly burned the book, and declared that it should only be printed in Latin [1]. This, however, was all " sound and fury." The volume was very generally welcomed, and its value was attested by the number of its editions. And, lastly, the Primate retained sufficient influence to promote many learned and pious individuals, who were likely to become valuable auxiliaries to the Protestant cause [2].

Anne Askew.

While the Primate was thus toiling onward, through " hard and rare," the sanguinary Statute was doing its work of destruction. By this time, Shaxton, the ex-bishop of Salisbury, had renounced the old sacramental doctrine; and the ill-fated but illustrious Anne Askew was a partner in his heresy. The divine, alas! recanted. The heroic lady held her faith firm. She was sorely beset with temptations to abjure it. The apostate himself counselled her to follow his example. Her reply was, that it would have been good for him if he never had been born. She was mercilessly racked in prison; and, to the eternal shame of manhood and nobility, the engine was stretched to the utmost that nature would bear, by the hand of Wriothesley, the Lord High Chancellor of England [3]. As no seve-

[1] Wood, Ann. Oxf. year 1546. [2] Burnet, b. iii.

[3] Foxe, vol. ii. p. 288. ed. 1684. Her own account is there given at length, p. 282—290.

rities could reclaim her, she was condemned to perish in the agonies of the stake. Her limbs were so dislocated by the torture, that she was carried in a chair to the place of execution, where the atrocities of the scene were completed by the appearance of Shaxton in the pulpit. It does not appear that Cranmer had any share whatever in these execrable proceedings. She was first cited before her ordinary, the Bishop of London. Boner, therefore, was her judge, in the first instance; and, afterwards, she was examined before the Council, by Gardiner, and others. But the name of Cranmer is not mentioned by her, in the narrative she has left of her own sufferings. Even if his humanity were not sufficient to withhold him from needless interference in such "bloody business," the change which his own sentiments were then undergoing,—(or if they had not completely undergone,)—relative to the Eucharist, would make him extremely reluctant to join in the persecution of a *sacramentarian*[1].

Cranmer not concerned in her persecution.

The sun of Henry was now soon to set: and it sunk into darkness with an aspect of blood. The

[1] The only shadow of evidence respecting Cranmer, is the following address of Joan Bocher to him and his colleagues, when she was condemned to suffer, in the next reign: "you condemned Anne Askew for a piece of bread, and you would now condemn me for a piece of flesh." But this is altogether inconclusive. Who does not see that the word "*you*" was uttered by her in a loose, indefinite sense; as if she had said, *you* bishops, or, *you* churchmen, without reference to any individual in particular.

expanding power and greatness of the Howards had awakened the last energies of his fiery and suspicious nature:* and almost the latest act of his life was to sign, or at least to sanction, the death warrant of the illustrious and gifted Surrey. On the day of that gallant nobleman's execution, the King himself lay in the agonies of death; and nothing but his dissolution preserved the Duke of Norfolk, the father of Surrey, from a similar fate. The bills of attainder against the father and the son had passed the Legislature with the shameful rapidity so common in those days. Seven and twenty peers, among whom were some of the highest nobility of the land, voted for the condemnation of Norfolk[1]; of Cranmer's share in the proceeding, nothing more can be ascertained than his presence at all the readings of the bill[2]. Of any further interference of his in the matter, no evidence whatever has been preserved. The Duke had been among the bitterest of his adversaries; but it was not in his nature to pursue the most inveterate enemy to death. Whether the Archbishop saw reason to be satisfied that the Duke was guilty, cannot now be known. That Norfolk was, at least, considered as a very dangerous man, may be collected from the long continuance of his imprisonment during the reign of Edward.

Death of Henry VIII.

On the 28th of January, 1547, Henry breathed his last. He expired at a crisis of the deepest interest to Cranmer. It has been affirmed that, at that very time, an agreement

[1] Turn. Hen. VIII. p. 677. note 53. [2] Lords' Journals.

was in forwardness, between Henry and the King of France, for the abolition of the mass: and, had he survived but a few months longer, there was good reason to hope that the influence of Gardiner over him would have been utterly ruined, and that of the Primate completely re-established. "If I should tell you," said Cranmer to his secretary Morice, "what communication was had between the King's Highness and the French ambassador, (the King leaning upon him and me,) concerning the establishing of sincere religion, a man would hardly have believed it. Nor I myself had thought the King had been so forward in those matters, as he then appeared[1]."

The last moments of Henry were deeply interesting; as they manifested, beyond all doubt, the sincerity of his veneration and affection for the Archbishop. When it appeared that his dissolution was inevitable, his thoughts reverted,—not to the men who had poured into his ear the venom of inhuman bigotry, and whose own feet had been swift to shed blood,—but to the mild integrity which was incessantly recalling him to the ways of mercy and of truth. His attendants inquired of him whether it was his wish to confer with any of the Divines. "With no other but Cranmer," was his immediate reply. When Cranmer arrived, the King was speechless. The Archbishop exhorted him to repose all

[1] Strype's Cranmer, b. i. c. 30. Morice's Relation to Foxe. See Todd's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 376.

his hope on the mercies of God, through Jesus Christ; and besought him to testify that hope by word or sign. Henry answered the appeal by wringing the hand of his honoured Counsellor, with all the strength that remained to him; and shortly after, he expired. This very last act, therefore, manifested the depth of his friendship for the man, "to whom, and to whom *only*, through evil report and good report, he had ever been faithful and true. To him he bequeathed a Church, which was little but a ruinous heap, its revenues dissipated, its ministers divided, its doctrines unsettled, and its laws obsolete, impracticable, and unadapted to the great change it had sustained[1]."

Reflections on his character and government.

There are few anomalies more perplexing, on a superficial view, than the despotic government of Henry, and his powerful hold on the affections of the English people. Like all the feudal Sovereigns of England, he was unprovided with that ponderous instrument of rule, a standing army: and yet he presents himself to our imagination, at this day, with the commanding port of an autocrat. He extorted loans and benevolences, —he often treated the ancient institutions of the country merely as obsolete formularies,—he dictated their religion to the people of England, and fre-

[1] I here borrow, with satisfaction and pride, the words of Mr. J. J. Blunt, in his "Sketch of the Reformation of England," 1832: a work admirable for the masterly precision and vigour of its outline.

quently employed the halter and the stake as the chief engines of conversion. Nevertheless, he was not only obeyed, but, during a great part of his reign, was almost idolized throughout the land. One cause of his influence and popularity, must be sought in his personal demeanour and temperament; in which, his people beheld certain features of their own character, distinctly and vividly reflected. His spirit was frank, festive, and magnificent. He was, in their estimate, precisely what the first of English gentlemen ought to be,—"of passing stout courage, of magnanimity incomparable, of invincible fortitude, of notable activity, and dexterity wonderful[1]." And, such was the ascendency which these splendid qualities acquired for him, that, even in 1544, at a time when he was deeply stained with atrocity and bloodshed, his order for a levy to carry on his French wars, was obeyed with perfect enthusiasm. The men who were pressed for that service, crowded to the ranks with an alacrity that never was surpassed by the ardour of Napoleon's youthful conscripts. They gladly abandoned their domestic interests,—their wives and children were forgotten,—their own lives held at nought,—and nothing was thought of but the glory of their King, and the renown and welfare of Old England[2]. But if he thus contrived to identify himself with the feelings and the honour of his subjects, it is probable that he never wholly forgot, that the nation which he governed, had in it

[1] See Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. i. c. 52. [2] Ibid.

"something dangerous," which his wisdom was compelled to fear; something, that was perpetually whispering in the ear of power, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further." The very same people who flocked to his standard in 1544, had, long before, shown a "marvellously disobedient stomach" when they were oppressed by a grinding impost in 1525. They complained then, that they were taxed like Frenchmen, and virtually reduced to bondage[1]; and this, too, at a moment when the national spirit was elate with the intelligence of the defeat of Pavia, with the prospect of a successful invasion of France, and with the hope of seeing the English name established there in all its ancient glory. The King, with all his impetuosity, appears, on this occasion, to have clearly understood the temper of his people. The imperious, but keen-sighted Tudor, instantly disclaimed all knowledge of these exactions; and dispatched letters throughout his kingdom, declaring, "that he would demand no sum certain, but such as his loving subjects would grant to him of their own good minds, towards the maintenance of his wars[2]." If, then, it be asked how this sturdy race could endure that their Monarch should assume the arbitrary direction of their consciences, and frame creeds for them, ac-

[1] "How the great men took it, was marvel. The poor cursed; the rich repugned; the light wits railed: and, in conclusion, all people cursed the Cardinal, with his coadherents, as subverters of the laws and *liberty* of England." See the full history of this affair in Hall, p. 694—702, ed. 1809.

[2] Ibid.

cording to his pleasure?—the answer must be, that, during the progress of the Reformation, the people of England, *in general*, never felt their spirits very deeply stirred by the conflict between the ancient *Theology* and the new. They had, indeed, for ages, been remarkably free, as a nation, from all suspicion of heresy; and were, probably, not prepared for any severe sacrifices and exertions, merely with a view to the purification of religious doctrine. But though, on the whole, they were exemplary Roman Catholics, they had often shown themselves but very indifferent Papists. They had acquiesced with a sort of inert and passive fidelity, in the dogmas of the Church; but had, frequently, manifested a fiery impatience under the dominion of the Pope. At length the crisis came, for which the labours of Wiclif had made such formidable preparation. The Pontifical power was shattered to pieces by Henry: and, while the fragments of that idol were before them, they suffered him, with surprising tractability, to mould and modify the remainder of their belief. Their general religious impressions were, indeed, profound and stedfast: and, accordingly, when the Bible was opened to them, they rushed with eagerness to the perusal of it. But there seems to have been among them, *comparatively*, little of that fierce enthusiasm, which resisteth unto blood. Their interest in the mere theological contest, was far from being vehement or impassioned. It did not burst out at once into civil war, or revolutionary frenzy. They were, to all appearance, not altogether displeased to find,

that there was a power on the throne, able to control the turbulent elements which had been let loose, and to prevent their falling into a destructive conflict: and hence the composure—we might almost say, the approbation—with which they generally witnessed the preparation of the *six-thonged scourge*, and beheld, in their Sovereign, the impartial chastiser of heretics and traitors. While they hated the usurpations of the Bishop of Rome, they were but faintly excited by the question of the corporeal presence. They, consequently, were not awakened into fury by the spectacle of Sacramentaries, and adherents of the Papal supremacy, dragged together to the place of execution. This temper of the English people is amply illustrated by the subsequent history of the Reformation. Under the successor of Henry, it advanced. Under the fanatical sister of Edward, it fearfully recoiled. In the days of Elizabeth it advanced again: and the reflux was then powerful enough to carry it to the point, which, ever since, it has happily maintained. And yet, all these vicissitudes were accomplished,—not, indeed, without great peril and disturbance,—but without any of that wild commotion, which tore the Continent to pieces, and, for more than a century, made Europe a scene of havoc and of carnage.

CHAPTER X.

1547—1548.

Unsettled state of Religion—Commission during pleasure issued to the Bishops—Cranmer's address to Edward VI. at his Coronation—Persecution under the Six Articles terminated—Activity of Gardiner in defence of Saint-Worship, &c.—A Visitation of the whole Kingdom resolved upon—Preparation of Homilies—Translation of the Paraphrase of Erasmus—Continued opposition of Gardiner—His disputes with Cranmer on the Homilies and Paraphrase—Opposition of Boner—Cranmer's influence predominant in the Convocation—An Act for the Sacrament in both kinds—Repeal of the Six Articles and other persecuting Statutes—Religious dissensions—Various Orders of Council respecting them—Images abolished—Ten Questions submitted to the Bishops respecting the Mass—The answers of Cranmer and other Bishops—Steps towards converting the Mass into a Communion Service—Disorders and outrages attending the first introduction of these changes—Bill for giving the Chapels and Chantries to the King—Cranmer joins the Papists in their opposition to it—Cranmer's Articles of Inquiry at his Visitation.

IT was affirmed by the Princess Mary, in an angry letter to the Protector Somerset, written in the course of this year, that there was "a godly order and quietness" left by "the late King, in the realm, at the time of his death," which could not be disturbed without a violation of his last will. To this assertion the Protector replied, that "so far was it from a

godly and quiet order which had been left by his Majesty, that no kind of religion was perfected at his death; but all was left uncertain, in a state most likely to engender strife and division; and that, within the knowledge of many persons, his Majesty, at the time of his decease, had firmly resolved upon more effective measures of improvement[1]."

Unsettled state of Religion

Nothing, in truth, could well be more at variance with the fact, than this extraordinary averment of the Popish Princess; nothing more indisputable, than the reply of the Protector. The religion which actually prevailed was a sort of mongrel Romanism. It was neither Popery nor Protestantism. It was not Popery,—for the authority of the Pope was abolished; it was not Protestantism,—for many of the Protestant doctrines and principles were still on the expurgatory index of the statute of the Six Articles. It is true that, by the exertions of Cranmer, the severity of that law had undergone considerable mitigation[2]. But, though its edge was somewhat blunted, the weapon itself was still unsheathed, and continued to smite down its victims almost to the latest hour of Henry's life.

January 28.

The successor of Henry, Edward VI. had not completed his tenth year when he came to the throne. The eyes of the Gospellers had long been fixed upon him, with hope; those of the Romanists, with jealousy and fear: for Cran-

[1] Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. c. 7.
[2] Herb. p. p. 557, 558, ed. 1683.

mer had been charged with the superintendence of his education, both by virtue of his office as godfather to the Prince, and of his station as Primate of the realm. It was almost the first care of the Archbishop, after the accession of his Royal Pupil, that the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown should be promptly and distinctly recognized: and, for this purpose, nothing could be more effectual than the arrangement, that the Prelates should receive their Bishoprics anew, at the hands of the Sovereign. Commissions, precisely similar to those which had been issued by the late King, in 1535, were accordingly granted both to him and to the occupants of the other Sees, for the exercise of their Episcopal office and jurisdiction, during the Royal pleasure[1].

Commissions, during pleasure, issued to the Bishops.

The first act done by Cranmer, as Primate under Edward, was to perform the ceremony of the Coronation. On this occasion, it appears that, instead of a long Sermon, a brief Address was delivered by him to his youthful Sovereign, for the purpose of expounding to him the precise condition in which he stood, as King of England. "Your Highness,"—he said, in substance,—"has this day made a vow to forsake the devil and his works. In the name of the Clergy of this realm, I declare to your Majesty, that it is no breach of this promise to forsake and renounce the

Cranmer's Address to Edward VI. on his Coronation.

[1] Strype's Cranmer, b. ii. c. 1, and Wharton's Observations to p. 141.

Pope; and that such abjuration can work no forfeiture of your temporal or spiritual power. As for the ceremonial of your coronation, the oil is no symbol of submission to the Bishop of Rome. The whole solemnity is instituted purely to admonish sovereigns of their duty to God; and to remind them of those gifts of the Holy Spirit, by which they must be anointed, if they would rule their people in righteousness. Your Majesty is God's Vicegerent, and Christ's Vicar, within your own dominions. It will be yours, like a second Josiah, to see that God is truly worshipped, and idolatry destroyed,—that the innocent are righted, and the poor relieved,—that, throughout your kingdom, violence be repressed, justice executed, and sin revenged. If all this be faithfully done, then may it be written of your Majesty, as it is written of Josiah, *Like unto him was there no king, that turned unto the Lord with all his heart; neither after him arose there any like him.* My function compels me to lay these things before your Highness. But I openly declare, before the living God, and the nobles of this land, that I have no commission to denounce your Highness as deprived, on partial, or even on total failure, in these performances; much less, to draw up indentures between God and your Majesty, or to say your crown is liable to forfeiture, by virtue of a clause for the Bishop of Rome, according to the example of John or Henry, your Majesty's predecessors.—May Almighty God, of his mercy, lift up the light of his countenance upon your Majesty, and grant you a

prosperous and happy reign: and let your subjects say, *Amen*[1]."

This address was itself a sufficiently decided manifesto against all attempts for the restoration of the authority of Rome. It was speedily followed by other indications. The coronation was attended by the customary grant of a general pardon; which terminated, in fact, the persecution under the Six Articles. The Protestants, who had fled from that persecution, and had sought for safety and freedom of conscience abroad, now returned to their country; and among them were Miles Coverdale, the assistant of Tyndal in the version of the Bible; and Hooper, Philpot, and Rogers, who afterwards bore testimony to the truth at the stake. The Earl of Hertford, with the new title of Duke of Somerset, was elevated to the Protectorship; and the inhuman Wriothesley, (he who, with his own hand, had stretched Anne Askew on the rack,) was deprived of the great seal, which was immediately consigned to the keeping of Lord St. John. Among the Bishops, Holgate, Goodrich, and Holbeach, were decided and serviceable auxiliaries to the Primate; and his friend and Chaplain, Nicolas Ridley, afforded him the invaluable aid of his sound erudition and consummate prudence. Another promising circumstance was, that the late King had inflexibly per-

Persecution under the Six Articles, terminated.

[1] This address is printed, complete, in Strype's Cranmer, b. ii. c. 1, from the collections of Archbishop Usher.

sisted in excluding Gardiner from the number of his Executors, and, consequently, from the Council of Regency, to whom the State was entrusted during the minority of Edward.

But the activity of that Prelate was not to be extinguished by his separation from the government. In the course of the ensuing Lent, he vigorously took the field in vindication of Saint-Worship, Images, and Holy Water. His most formidable antagonist was Ridley; and surely that consummate Divine can hardly have contemplated, without a smile, the childish credulity and ricketty logic of his adversary[1]. The Government, however, were prepared

Activity of Gardiner in defence of Saint-Worship, &c.

[1] Of Gardiner's logic the following is a specimen: "If images are forbidden, why doth the King wear the George upon his breast? But the King doth wear the George; *ergo*, images are not forbidden. Again; if saints are not to be *worshipped*, why do we *keep* St. George's feast? But we do *keep* St. George's feast; *ergo*, saints are to be *worshipped*." Once more; "if the invocation of the Divine name over cramp rings may drive away diseases, why may it not drive away devils, when pronounced over water? But, rings hallowed by the Church may drive away diseases; *ergo*, water hallowed by the Church may drive away devils." It might, surely, have been sufficient to reason with the Bishop, after his own fashion, thus: "If the Roman Church be infallible, why do her Bishops ever talk like idiots? But her Bishops do sometimes talk like idiots; *ergo*, the Roman Church is not infallible." This logic, worthless as it may be, would, at least, have been good enough to confront with that of the Bishop of Winchester. He, however, seems to have been quite enchanted with his own syllogisms. They were *sore arguments*, he said, in the time of his late Majesty; and he did not see why

to encounter the Bishop's opposition, by more effectual means than those of mere disputation. The Archbishop was now conscious of more freedom of agency than he had ever known before. During the reign of Henry, there was a "numbing spell" upon his exertions; an influence which fettered every movement, and filled his own heart, and that of his friends, with apprehension and misgiving. The feelings of those who resisted change, were often so fiercely reflected from the Royal countenance, that the spirit of Cranmer, though not subdued, was frequently cast down; so that, instead of raising his voice like a trumpet, he was compelled, at times, to whisper, as it were, out of the dust. But the terrors of the ecclesiastical dictatorship were now removed, and the Primate felt that he could breathe freely. Nevertheless, his habitual caution never for a moment deserted him. He was prepared to proceed

they should not be just as good then! How his respondent disposed of these *sore arguments*, we are not informed. See Gardiner's Letter to Ridley, Foxe, vol. ii. b. ix. p. 71—73, ed. 1684. This extraordinary individual seems to have been under some positive infatuation, whenever he spoke on the subject of images. On another occasion he affirmed, that "the destruction of images contained an enterprise to subvert religion, and, with it, the state of the world; and especially the nobility: who, *by images*, do set forth and spread abroad their own lineage and parentage, with remembrance of their state and actions, that they may be known and read of all men." One would think that a man, who could rave in this manner, must, for the time, have been deserted by his wits. See Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. c. 5.

vigorously, but, always with deliberation. His first object was to ascertain distinctly the actual condition of the Church; and, with this view, it was determined that a Royal Visitation should be holden throughout the kingdom; and that, until it was completed, all ordinary jurisdiction should be entirely suspended, and all ministers inhibited from preaching in any Churches but their own [1].

A Visitation of the whole kingdom resolved upon.

This wise and salutary measure, though resolved upon in April, was not carried into execution till the following September [2]. The interval, however, was not suffered to pass away unprofitably. It was felt that the want of sound parochial instruction was among the most urgent necessities of the Church: and the Clergy were unhappily in a state of such notorious ignorance, that it was necessary for their rulers to furnish them with the words of edification. On this account, the Archbishop was extremely anxious that a book of *Homilies* should be prepared, with the least possible delay, such as might be suited to the comprehension of simple and unlettered men. And, in order to avoid the suspicion of any insidious object, the Bishop of Winchester was invited to join in the task. With his usual doggedness, he positively refused. It was to no purpose to remind him, that the design had, in fact, originated with the late King; who, so long ago as 1542, had projected a similar compilation.

Preparation of Homilies.

[1] Strype, Cranm. b. ii. c. 2.

[2] Strype's Ecc. Mem. vol. ii. c. 7.

All this Gardiner could not deny: but then, he was pleased to observe that, since that time, God had graciously endowed his Majesty with "the gift of *pacification;*" and, further, that all such "*devices*" had been "extinguished" by the authority of the Convocation[1]. The Primate and his associates could perceive no necessity for this "pacific" abstinence from the instruction of the people; and, finding Gardiner inflexible, they addressed themselves to the business without his aid. Twelve Homilies were the produce of their labours; four of which may, with the highest probability, be ascribed to Cranmer himself[2]. As a further aid to the people in searching the Scriptures, it was determined that the Paraphrase of the New Testament, by Erasmus, should be translated into English. A portion of this work had already been completed by Nicolas Udal, (afterwards Canon of Windsor), and other learned men, under the patronage of Catharine Parr, and during the life of Henry. The remainder was not in readiness till the year 1549. The parts which were now finished,

Translation of the Paraphrase of Erasmus.

[1] Strype's Cranmer, b. ii. c. 3.

[2] The three Homilies on Salvation, Faith, and Good Works, are ascribed to Cranmer by Mr. Todd, on the authority of the "Christian Manual," published in 1576, by John Woolton, nephew of the celebrated Alexander Nowell; and, shortly afterwards, Bishop of Exeter. Dr. Wordsworth conjectures that the Homily "of the misery of all mankind" is by Cranmer. Mr. Todd is inclined rather to attribute to him that against the Fear of Death.—Todd's Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 10. Eccl. Biog. vol. iii. p. 505, 506, note (7).

consisting of the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, were put forth by the Royal Authority: and injunctions were issued, requiring that every parish should be provided with a copy of this Paraphrase, to be deposited in the Church; and also with copies of the twelve Homilies, for the purpose of being publicly read by each minister to his congregation.

This was the mode of popular instruction which the wretched incompetence of the parish incumbents rendered it expedient to substitute for sermons. It would occupy a much larger space than our narrative can afford, to convey to the reader any due conception of the resistance offered to the scheme by the untractable spirit of Gardiner. He would neither give his own assistance, nor endure the performances of other men. His spleen appears to have been ungovernably moved by the prospect of the approaching Visitation. He wearied the Protector with a rambling, and almost interminable correspondence, on the obvious danger and questionable legality of innovation, during the minority of the King; and on the manifold demerits of the book of Homilies and the Paraphrase of Erasmus, which, he affirmed, were at strife with each other, and both of them at variance with the "Erudition of a Christian man [1]. He urgently solicited permission to appear before the Council, during

Continued opposition of Gardiner.

[1] They who have patience for the task, may peruse his Letters in Foxe, vol. ii. b. ix. p. 52—70. Ed. 1684.—See also Strype's Cranmer, Append. No. 36.

the absence of the Protector in Scotland, for the purpose of submitting to them his opinion on the same subjects. The Council consented. The Bishop appeared before them with a prodigious apparatus of books. They listened with courtesy and patience to his representations. They reasoned with him, and found him quite impenetrable: and, in a luckless moment, they committed him to the Fleet, for disobedience to the Royal injunctions. By this rash and arbitrary proceeding, they raised to the dignity of a Confessor, a man who, till that time, was much better known as a restless political agitator, than as a learned and conscientious defender of the Catholic faith [1].

According to his own account, his treatment in prison was most intolerably rigorous. He complained that he was allowed neither friend nor Chaplain,—neither servant nor tailor,—neither barber nor physician [2]. It must be confessed that he endured his punishment bravely. Persecution appears to have given him, for the time, an elevation of character which never belonged to him before. The alleged hardships of the Fleet had no effect whatever in breaking his spirit: for it was during his confinement there,

His disputes with Cranmer on the Homilies and Paraphrase.

[1] Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. c. 7.

[2] Strype's Cranmer, b. ii. c. 3.—This is contradicted in a document given by Foxe, which states that "he was as much at his ease in the Fleet, as in his own house." Foxe ubi supra, p. 53. The reader must get at the truth, as he best may, between these conflicting statements!

that he carried on a vigorous controversy with the Archbishop, respecting the odious Homilies, and still more hated Paraphrase. The Primate had been desired by the Council to confer with him, and, if possible, to bring him to a more manageable frame of mind. But expostulation and argument were utterly thrown away upon him. Of the Homilies, that on salvation (probably the work of Cranmer himself) appears to have been peculiarly the object of his wrath and aversion. It was a composition, he said, which reflected more disgrace on its author, than he would willingly see inflicted on the bitterest of his enemies. Moreover, being fond of syllogisms, he endeavoured to demolish the homily, by the following *reductio ad absurdum*: "We be justified by faith, without the works of the Law: Charity is a work of the Law: *ergo*, we are justified *without* charity[1]." The only proper answer to this statement, is a reference to the Homily itself; which guards so laboriously against this pernicious conclusion, that nothing could have closed the eyes of Gardiner against its real import, except a previous resolution to see nothing right in the work of a Protestant Divine. Another of his objections was, that justification is received in Baptism; and that they who fall into sin after baptism, must be recovered by the sacrament of penance. The controversy, here, evidently degenerates into a dispute about the proper meaning of the word justification. If it be taken, in the more restricted

[1] Strype's Cranmer, b. ii. c. 3.

sense, to imply nothing but the state in which men are placed, at their first adoption into the Christian family, of course it is idle to debate at all respecting any subsequent conditions, as affecting its validity. But, even in that case the question must still remain,—what must be the final destiny of those who presume to rely on the merit of their own works, if He, in whose sight no man living shall be justified, should strictly enter into judgment with them? All this, however, in the opinion of Gardiner, was a matter fit only for discussion at the Universities; and he added, that if his Grace of Canterbury must needs travail in this debateable ground, he must even borrow the prisons of the Protector; or enforce obedience after the manner of the Pope, whose attendants employ their halberds to compel the genuflexions of the crowd[1]! Alas! for human nature! This was the language of the man whom we have seen flying upon Lambert,—who was fiercely alert in the persecution of Anne Askew,—and who afterwards was deep in all the horrors of the Marian butchery!

The Paraphrase of Erasmus, Gardiner held to be, if possible, a more hateful prodigy than the Book of Homilies. It was the work of that same "obscene bird" that laid the eggs, afterwards hatched by Luther. It was a very magazine of monstrous heresies. It was disgraceful, both for the falsehood and malice of the author, and for the arrogant ignorance of the translator. In a single word, it was

[1] Strype's Cranmer, b. ii c. 3.

"*an abomination*:" and nothing could be more intolerable than to oppress the kingdom with a charge of 20,000*l.* for the circulation of such a work [1]. In reply to all this raving, little more need be said, than that which was alleged by the translator himself: namely, that Erasmus modestly offered his performance to the world merely as the work of a fallible and mortal man; and that it was but "a cold charity" which would drive the hungry Christian from such refreshment, merely because all the materials of the feast were not of equal excellence [2]. The truth is, that the Paraphrase was the only work of the kind which was then to be found in Christendom: and even had this been otherwise, the selection of it would have been the very triumph of impartiality and moderation. It was the composition of one who refused to enlist himself under the banners of *heresy* or *schism*; of one who had a perfect hatred of violence and precipitation; of one whom Luther had, long since, assailed as a rank Papist and adversary of Christ [3]. What would Gardiner have said, had the Archbishop and his coadjutors compiled a body of Scriptural Exposition from the writings of Luther himself, and of the most uncompromising of his brethren in Germany! How would heaven and earth then have

[1] Strype's Cranmer, b. ii. c. 3. [2] Ibid.

[3] "Lutherus jam nihil edit in quo non perstringit *Erasmum Papistam, et Christi adversarium.* Homo simpliciter furit, concepitque *parricidiale* odium." Erasmus Damiano a Goes. A.D. 1535. Opera tom. iii. Epist. 1279, col. 1501. Ed. Leyd.

resounded with his outcry against the frenzy of revolution and fanaticism!

As to the alleged disagreements in doctrine, between the Homilies and the Paraphrase, they were such as a mind in search of objections would hardly fail to detect: but they were not of a nature to cause serious perplexity to those who were anxious only for edification. The variances of the new instruction, from that of the King's Book, afforded a still more advantageous position to a vigilant enemy. For instance, the great doctrine of justification was much more prominently brought out in the Homilies, than in the Royal formulary; and a multitude of superstitious practices were now positively denounced, which before had been treated with a sparing and tender hand. That an inveterate foe should fix upon occasional inconsistencies like these, was altogether natural enough; and Gardiner did, accordingly, seize upon them, like one who had *found great spoil.* But it is, at least, equally warrantable, for us, at this day, to contend, that such variations were nothing more than precisely what might be expected from the advancing knowledge, and more undisturbed free agency of the Reformers. And, after all, many of these discrepancies were very little, if any thing, greater, than must always be looked for, in any large and comprehensive scheme of popular instruction.

Opposition of Boner.

The Injunctions and the Homilies were quite as unpalatable to the Bishop of London, as they were to the Bishop of Winchester. Boner, like Gardiner, had received them with a formal

protestation, that he should observe them, if they should be found agreeable to the law of God, and the ordinances of the Church; but, unlike Gardiner, he soon contrived to digest his indignation and aversion. When his contumacy brought him before the Council, he tendered his formal submission; but they found this document so stuffed (as they expressed it) with "*vain quiddities*," that it was impossible to accept it. He then framed another, in which he fully renounced his protestation, and besought the clemency of the King. He was, nevertheless, committed to the Fleet, probably for the purpose of repressing, by a severe example, all factious resistance to the Visitors; and, after a short confinement, he was discharged[1].

The Reformation was now holding its course calmly and steadily onward. In the month of November both the Parliament and the Convocation assembled; and the session was, in several respects, signally important. The influence of the Archbishop was happily predominant in the deliberations of the Clergy. On the 22d of November he produced an ordinance "for the receiving the body of our Lord under both kinds, namely, of bread and wine:" and the proposition was *unanimously*[2] adopted in the very next sitting. This momentous recog-

Cranmer's influence predominant in the Convocation.

An Act for the Sacrament in both kinds.

Dec. 2.

[1] Burnet, vol. ii. b. i. p. 36. and Rec. 12.

[2] *Nullo reclamante*. Strype, Cranm. b. ii. c. 4.

nition of the primitive practice, was not suffered to sleep in the records of the Convocation. The activity of Cranmer secured for it, without delay, the sanction of the Legislature, as appears by the very first Act of the present Parliament. This Statute had three distinct objects. The first of these was, to repress the vulgar ribaldry with which the sacramental ordinance had been recently assailed. The exposure of the Papal abuses had produced a reaction so violent and licentious, that it threatened to make the most solemn rite of Christianity an object of popular derision. It was therefore judged necessary to provide, that all persons guilty of disparaging the blessed eucharist by contemptuous and irreverent speech, should be punished by fine and imprisonment, at the pleasure of the King. The other purposes of this Statute were, to reform the abuses of solitary masses, and of communion in one kind. It accordingly recites, that it was more conformable to the usage of apostolic and primitive times, that the sacrament should be administered in both kinds, than under the form of bread only; and that the people should receive it with the priest, than that the priest should receive it alone. It therefore enacts, that the laity shall receive the cup as well as the minister, except necessity should otherwise require; and that the sacrament shall not be denied, without a lawful cause, to any person that will devoutly and humbly desire it. It must, however, be observed, that there is nothing in this Act to prohibit the consecration of the elements, or the reception of them by the priest,

if none of the congregation should be willing to communicate[1]. The language of this Statute is, throughout, so distinguished by appropriate solemnity, that it has been pretty confidently ascribed to the pen of the Archbishop himself[2].

Repeal of the Six Articles, and other persecuting Statutes.

The repeal of the Six Articles, and other persecuting laws, was another result of this memorable session. The Archbishop, in his address to the Convocation, had exhorted the Clergy to a diligent examination of those particulars, in which the Church still needed reformation; to the intent that it might be wholly relieved from the incumbrance of Popish perversions and frivolities. But to this it was objected, that the sanguinary statute was still perpetually frowning on their labours, and suppressing all freedom of thought, speech, and action. These representations of the Clergy to the Archbishop, produced an application from him to the Council; who speedily obtained from Parliament, a repeal not only of that, but of every penal Act which related to "doctrine, and matters of religion." By this wise and liberal legislation, Englishmen were delivered from the terrors of religious persecution, in all cases except those, which might still lie within the reach of the common law. It must, however, be observed, that offences against the Royal supremacy were expressly excluded from this indulgence, and were still left open to the penalties of forfeiture, præ-

[1] 1 Edward VI. c. 1.

[2] Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. c. 8.

munire, or the punishments appropriate to high treason[1].

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Religious Dissensions.

In spite, however, of the labours of sages and legislators, the elements of dissension were still in wild activity throughout the realm. The pulpits were like rival oracles, which gave utterance to contradictory responses. From some of them was heard an intrepid vindication of the ancient rites and ceremonies; from others, a vehement reprobation of them, as no better than fragments of paganism. The city of London, more especially, was kept in a perpetual ferment by this distracting variety of doctrine: and, whether in town or country, the advocates of gay processions, and showy solemnities, were animated by the cordial sympathies of the multitude, whose devòtion was apt to languish under the feeble excitement of a merely *reasonable service*. The Archbishop was, of course, extremely solicitous to dislodge the traditional absurdities from their strong hold in the affections and imaginations of the people; and his representations to the Council soon produced an order, forbidding the practice of holding candles on Candlemas-day, or bearing ashes on Ash-Wednesday, or carrying palms on Palm-Sunday[2]. On the other hand, it was found needful to repress the spirit of headstrong innovation, which in many parts of the kingdom was doing the business

Various Orders of Council respecting them.

[1] 1 Edward VI. c. 12.

[2] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 59. ed. 1681.

of reform, as it were the work of confusion. For this purpose, a Royal proclamation was issued on the 6th of February, forbidding all changes of religious usage or practice, except such as should be authorized by the Primate, in conformity with the Royal will. And, in order to put down the manifold abuses of rash and seditious preaching, the same instrument further provides, that none shall presume to preach in any place of worship, other than those which were licensed by his Majesty, or his Visitors: and every violation of this order was to be punished by imprisonment at the King's pleasure[1].

Feb. 11. Images abolished.

In the course of the same month, another most important change was effected in the aspect of the national religion, by the general abolition of images. Of all the strong holds of superstition, this has ever been found the most difficult to demolish. Every one will recollect that image-worship was the ingredient of discord which rent the Eastern and Western Churches asunder, and finally consolidated the dominion of the Papacy. The conflicts of those dark times had for some time been acting over again in England, though, of course, upon a very dwarfish scale, when compared with the convulsions which had formerly shaken Europe to its centre. The visible representations of Divine persons and inconceivable mysteries, had assumed so gross a form, that they stirred the spirits of thoughtful men to positive abhorrence. It was among the

[1] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 59. and Rec. No. 22.

blasphemous reveries of the Friars, that the Virgin Mary was *assumed* into the Trinity: and this notion was embodied to the public eye, in a sort of group, which exhibited the Virgin, seated between the Father and the Son; the Father being represented as an aged man, his head decorated by a triple crown, and encircled by a radiance or glory,—the Son, as a young man with similar attributes,—while a dove was seen hovering over them in the middle, as an emblem of the Holy Spirit. The disgust excited by spectacles like this, had often broken out into destructive violence; and this, again, had provoked resistance from the adherents of the ancient system, and had produced disorders dangerous to the peace of the realm. It was now thought high time to put an end to these outrages; and accordingly a letter was addressed by the Protector in Council to the Archbishop, intimating that "the living images of Christ must no longer be allowed to tear each other in pieces for the sake of the dead ones;" and that the arm of authority must be put forth to remove the objects which caused such hateful disturbance and contention. It was therefore enjoined that all images and pictures, throughout the kingdom, should forthwith be taken down; that all costly shrines, together with the plate belonging to them, should be brought into the King's treasury; and that their sumptuous mantles should be converted to the use of the poor. The affliction and dismay of Gardiner at this proclamation, were inexpressible; and the same feelings were, more or less vehemently experienced by the whole of

his party. They produced, however, no forcible opposition; and in a short time the Churches were cleared of objects, which, for many a century, had commanded the ignorant veneration of the country [1].

At this same period, the reformers were also occupied with a task much more vitally important than rending the skirts and fringes of the garment of superstition,—with a work, which, if perfectly achieved, would go near to pluck out the very heart of her mystery: they were employed in disenchanting the holy Eucharist from the strange metamorphosis it had undergone in the hands of the Romish Church. We have already seen that something material had been done towards dissolving the spell, by the very first act of the legislature in the present reign [2]. The restoration of the cup to the laity was, alone, a most valuable concession; it was one of the grand points, for which the German delegates had contended in vain, during the life of Henry. Another material improvement had been effected by the same act, in giving the members of the congregation a right to communicate, together with the minister, whenever they should desire it, instead of leaving the priest to be in general a solitary agent, in a rite so eminently social. But still, enough was left of the Romish disguise to conceal the form and lineaments of the primitive solemnity: and this it was now the business of the reformers gradually to strip off. They applied them-

[1] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 60. and Rec. No. 23.

[2] Stat. 1. Edw. VI. c. i.

selves to the undertaking with the diligence and deliberation which such a work required. In conformity with the practice occasionally observed in the former reign, a paper of ten questions, relative to the abuses of the mass, had been circulated among the Bishops, and other Divines. By whom these questions were drawn up is not certainly known; most probably, however, by Cranmer himself[1]. But, whoever might be their author, they were so framed as to bring the whole sacramental doctrine into discussion. The inquiries prescribed by them were in substance as follows: 1. Whether the Sacrament of the Altar was instituted to be received by one man for another, or by every man for himself only? 2. Whether, by receiving it, he conveys a benefit to any other man? 3. What is the oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the Mass? 4. Wherein doth the Mass itself consist? 5. When did the practice, of the Priest alone receiving the Sacrament, commence? 6. Is it convenient that the custom should continue? 7. Should Priests be hired to sing Masses *satisfactory* for departed souls? 8. Should the Gospel be taught to the people at the time of the Mass? 9[2]. Should the

Ten questions submitted to the Bishops respecting the Mass.

[1] Strype (Cranm. b. ii. c. 4.) gives a paper of very similar questions, and calls it "a writing of the Archbishop," and presumes that it must have been drawn up by him. It is without a date.

[2] The usage of uttering the consecration in a tone not to be heard by the people, is said to have been occasioned by the awful fate of certain shepherds, who, having got the form by heart, re-

Mass be celebrated in a language understood by the people? 10. When did the practice begin, of reserving the Sacrament, and hanging it up?

The answers of Cranmer, and other Bishops.

To these questions the Commissioners were required to return their answers in writing; and, fortunately, their replies have for the most part been preserved[1]. It is impossible to introduce them into these pages; but they who have leisure to inspect them, will find there a curious exhibition of the theology of those days, in its state of transition to greater purity. With the exception of the Primate, and Ridley, (then Bishop of Rochester), not one of the Commissioners

peated it over their bread, which, by the irresistible virtue of the words, was immediately converted into flesh! Fire descended from heaven, on the instant, to avenge their presumptuous ignorance, and struck the offenders dead. Their misfortune filled the holy fathers with dismay; and to prevent a repetition of it, they ordained, under penalty of a curse, that the words of consecration should, thenceforth, be pronounced in a voice inaudible by the congregation. Durandi Rationale. In addition to the reason afforded by this veracious narrative, it was alleged, that as the effect could not be seen, the syllables, which were instrumental to it should on no account be heard.—It is no easy matter to reconcile the above notable legend with the principle, that the effect of the Sacrament is, in any way, dependent on the intention of the consecrating minister. According to the above story, the shepherd (who was no minister at all) probably dreamed of nothing so little, as of the miraculous conversion of his meal into the flesh of his Saviour.

[1] They are printed in Burnet, vol. ii. Rec. No. 25.

[2] A very complete statement of these answers may be found in Soames's Hist. Reform. vol. iii. p. 241—248.

can be confidently [1] pointed out as having discarded every relique of the Romish perversion: nay, there is one point, in which we can discern a very faint tincture of the ancient prejudice adhering to the opinions even of the Primate and his friend. In his answer to the *ninth* of the above questions, Cranmer replies, that he approves of the vulgar tongue in the Mass; but adds, "except in certain secret mysteries, *whereof I doubt.*" A similar qualification is added by Ridley—"Nevertheless, as concerning the part that pertaineth to consecration, Dionysius and Basil move me to think it no inconvenience, that part should be spoken in silence."—This, however, is the only speck that can be detected in their Sacramental doctrine. Their answers to the third and fourth questions, more especially, place it beyond all question, that they had, at this time, both of them thrown away the Romish dogma of a corporeal presence; for they both affirm, that the oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the Mass, is so entitled, merely because it is 'a representation and memorial of his cross and passion; and that nothing can be essential to the Mass but what is set forth respecting it in Scripture [2].

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[1] It should be observed that to some of these questions several of the Commissioners gave no answer at all.

[2] Namely, in the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke; Acts ii.; 1 Cor. x. xi.—Of those who answered the question, respecting the presence, only the Bishops of Lincoln and St. David's, and the two Doctors, Cox and Taylor, agree with Cranmer and Ridley; the rest of the Commissioners adhere firmly to

The result of these discussions was the first step towards the conversion of the Mass into what we now call the Communion Service. But even here, the caution and the *tact* of the Reformers were eminently displayed. The innovation made by them, was the least that could possibly be introduced, consistently with their purpose. They put forth no formal denunciations against the doctrine of transubstantiation; for they, doubtless, perceived that the Canon of the Mass, so far as it relates to the sacramental elements, is very far from necessarily involving the dogma of the corporeal presence[1]: and, partly for this reason, partly in compliance with the urgency of the case, (for Easter was now approaching), they ordered that the ancient office of the Mass should be said in the customary manner, down to the reception of the

Steps towards converting the Mass into a Communion Service.

the Romish doctrine; with the exception of the Bishop of Salisbury, whose language is equivocal.

[1] In what is called the Canon of the Mass,—(the only part which the Council of Trent pronounces to be free from all error), the words which are supposed to effect the miraculous change, are as follows—"Which oblation, we beseech thee, O God, that thou wouldst vouchsafe to bless, approve, ratify, and accept, *that it may be made, for us, the body and blood of thy most beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord.*" (See the Roman Missal for the use of the Laity, p. xxxv. in the edition of 1815.) Now, although these may not be precisely the words which a Protestant would choose, they are words in the use of which he might join with perfect safety and honesty; for, in his sense of them, they would amount to nothing more than a prayer, that the elements might become, *to us*, as *spiritually* efficacious, as the body and blood which they represent.

Sacrament by the Priest. But it was directed that, after the Priest had received it himself, he should turn to the people, and address to them an exhortation, substantially similar to that which is in use at this day. Then followed a warning to impenitent sinners, that they should retire from these holy mysteries, lest the devil should enter into them, as he did into Judas. After this, there was to be a short pause in the service, to give opportunity for those to withdraw, whose conscience might convict them of unrepented transgression. Next came the invitation to the communicants, the confession, and the general absolution, (preceded by a declaration of the power of the Church to absolve penitent sinners [1])—the texts of Scripture, and the acknowledgment of our unworthiness,—all nearly in the same form as in our present office. The Sacrament was then to be administered in both kinds, first to the Ministers present, then to the people, in this form—"The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy *body* unto everlasting life: the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy *soul* unto everlasting life." The congregation was then to be dismissed with a blessing. The eucharistic bread was still to be in the form of small round cakes, or wafers; each of which, however, was to be broken into two parts, to signify that the virtue of the Sacrament was entirely independent of the quantity received. If the consecration of additional wine should be needed, it was to be done

[1] This declaration was afterwards omitted in the Liturgy.

without any new elevation. To this new office was prefixed a most important rubric, directing the minister to give notice of the communion on the Sunday or holiday next before ; and leaving it to the discretion of the penitent, either to confess their sins to God, or, if troubled in conscience, to their own parish Minister, or any learned and discreet Divine. This rubric, together with the office itself, was issued from the press on the 8th March, together with a proclamation, intimating that further improvements were still in contemplation, for which the people were enjoined to wait in reverence and quiet.

We may easily imagine the bitterness of heart with which Gardiner and his whole party must have witnessed this uplifting of the veil, which had, for so many ages, been hanging over the grand mystery of their faith. Their obedience to the order, which enjoined the circulation of the new sacramental office, was tardy and reluctant ; and in some places, the dissatisfaction of the parochial clergy was expressed in very violent and dangerous language. One of the complaints against the new service, it must be confessed, appeared sufficiently reasonable. In the prescribed form for the administration of the elements, the *body* of Christ is spoken of as preserving the *body* of the communicant, his *blood* as preserving the *soul;* as if the chalice were not only indispensable to the integrity of the rite, but of more essential importance and dignity than the bread. There is, however, no cause for believing that this distinction was

introduced with any unworthy or sinister design; and the Primate afterwards willingly agreed to the alteration, by which the same beneficial effect is ascribed to both elements. But the mortal grievance of Romanists was the fatal wound inflicted by the English Communion service, on the sacrament of absolution and penance,—the very axis on which alone the whole system of the spiritual dominion was thought by them to revolve. To make confession optional, they affirmed, was virtually to set the world loose from the only power which could save it from flying into fatal disorder. The Reformers themselves had a distinct perception of the dangers which might, for a time, rush in upon society, through this breach in the ancient structure of the Church; especially as they were without the means of repairing it by the substitution of a sounder discipline. They were persuaded, however, that the practice was not enjoined by Scripture; and they dared not to continue a yoke which God never had imposed, whatever might be the first effects of its removal. They felt, that the services of falsehood must, at every hazard, be rejected by the servants and soldiers of the truth.

It cannot, indeed, be denied, that formidable principles of mischief and confusion were already beginning to develope themselves, out of the ferment of this great revolution. The clerical or scholastic habit exposed the wearers of it, frequently to wanton insult, and, sometimes, to brutal violence. The churches were losing their character of sanctity, and

were often made the scenes of indecent riot, and even of sanguinary dissension. Together with the demon of profanation, entered the sordid spirit of rapacity. The consecrated ornaments and vessels were rapidly disappearing. Chalices, silver crosses, and bells, were turned into filthy gain, sometimes by the people themselves, and sometimes by the profligacy of their parish officers[1]. In the midst of all this pernicious licence, the growl of fanaticism was deep and hoarse. Why, it was asked, should God's people be commanded to refrain their hands from demolishing every fragment of the *accursed thing*, until the voice of authority should give the signal? Why should not the whole body of Popish imposture be dragged forth at once, and hewn in pieces before the Lord? Why should our Reformation resemble the vile patch-work[2] of secular craft, rather than the seamless vesture of Christianity?—Against the outrages of profaneness and turbulence above described, the Archbishop was compelled to array the power of the Government; and, that they were ready to support him by the prompt exercise of their authority, appears by the various orders and proclamations which were issued, from time to time, for the suppression of these evils[3]. To the feverish enthusiasm

Disorders and outrages attending the first introduction of these changes.

[1] Strype, Cranmer, b. ii. c. 8.

[2] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 61.

[3] Namely, on the 24th of April, to inhibit of preaching without a licence from the Protector or the Archbishop. Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. c. 12. On the 30th of April, against the embezzle-

of the age, the Fabius of our Church was, at all times, prepared to oppose the spirit of meekness, *and of love, and of a sound mind.* He well knew that the leaven of improvement had, as yet, but very partially wrought itself into the hearts of the people of England; and that to hasten the process unduly, with the mass imperfectly prepared, might be to ruin the experiment altogether. He recollected that even Christ and his Apostles abstained from demolishing the Mosaic œconomy at a single blow; and he felt that it would ill become men who had no miraculous powers to produce, to treat with imperious severity the prejudices and associations, which, for ages together, had been growing from strength to strength.

The affliction with which the Primate must have viewed the disorders which were loading the Reformation with disgrace, was aggravated by the shameless lust of plunder, which was still rampant in the *high places* of the land. We have seen, that from the first it was his desire and his hope, that the forfeited property of the monasteries might be consecrated to the intellectual and moral improvement of his country. He was doomed, however, to the bitterness of a long succession of disappointments. There seemed to be no end to the progress of spoliation. In the winter session of the present Parlia-

ment of sacred utensils. Strype, Cranmer, b. ii. c. 8. On the 13th of May, to enjoin moderation and caution to the licensed preachers, and to require that they should wait patiently and respectfully, for further changes. Burnet, vol. ii. Rec. No. 24.

ment, a Bill was brought in for securing to the King the remnants of the spoil which had been left untouched by his father. It was proposed to confer on him all the Colleges, free Chapels, and Chantries, which were not actually in possession of the Crown. The Bill was violently opposed by the whole body of the Romanists in the House of Peers; and it was a somewhat singular spectacle, to see the Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury leading their opposition. He was impelled to do so by a conviction, founded on sad experience, that the property of these establishments would never be devoted to the encouragement of letters and religion, nor even to the secular welfare and security of the realm; but would be swallowed up by the profligate cupidity of worthless courtiers. He therefore appeared at the head of the Popish peers, against the whole weight and power of the Protestant interest. But, as might have been foreseen, all resistance was vain: and it may be regarded as a signal deliverance, that the two Universities were exempted from this sweeping confiscation[1].

Bill for giving the Chapels and Chantries to the King.

Cranmer joins the Papists in their opposition to it.

The unsettled condition of the public mind, at this period, is very strongly indicated by the tenor of the Articles of Inquiry proposed by the Archbishop at the Visitation of his Diocese, held by him in the course of the summer of this year. His questions are very

Cranmer's Articles of Inquiry at his Visitation.

[1] Stat. I. Edward VI. c. 14. s. 19.

numerous—no less than eighty-six; and they embrace almost every point of discipline which had been inculcated in the Injunctions of the present and the preceding reign[1]. The questions respecting the demeanour of the laity are more particularly important, as betraying the turbulent and contumacious temper of the times. They inquired whether there were any who obstructed the reading of God's word in English, or the faithful exposition of it by the preacher;—whether any left the Church in the time of the Litany, Common Prayer, or Sermon;—whether bells were rung during the service;—whether holy water was abused by sprinkling it on beds;—whether private holidays were observed by tradesmen (in honour of the patron-saints of their respective crafts);—whether Priests and Ministers were insulted and abused;—whether those who were ignorant of Latin, used the devotions of the English Primer[2];—whether there was any brawling or jangling in the Church, while the Prayers or Homilies were read, or the Sermon preached;—whether charms and sorceries were still practised;—whether the Parish Church were deserted by any of the congregation, for other places of worship;—and whether there were any who despised the married Clergy, and refused the Sacraments at their hands. One may see distinctly, in such inquiries as these, a pic-

[1] Strype's Cranmer, b. ii. c. 9.

[2] A Manual of Devotion for Private Use, published with the Royal authority in 1547.

ture of the confusion,—we might almost say, the anarchy,—which marked the *interregnum* between the dominion of the Romish Church and the establishment of a better system. We may, likewise, read there, a very intelligible history of the protracted martyrdom to be undergone by those patient spirits, who had to conduct the public mind through this vexed abyss, and to buffet their way through the embroilment of its "surging fires" and conflicting atoms. And, surely, our gratitude is due to that gracious Providence, which enabled them to form, as they advanced, a solid and substantial mole, on which they might be followed, with confidence, until the people could plant their foot upon the broad and firm ground, and could lift their eyes steadily to the pure light of heaven.

CHAPTER XI.

1548—1549.

Cranmer's Translation of Justus Jonas's Catechism—The question, Whether Cranmer ever was a Consubstantialist?—His rejection of Transubstantiation—The English Liturgy—Aversion of the Romanists for the New Service-Book—The rebellion of Devonshire and Cornwall—Cranmer's answer to the rebels—Boner's opposition to the recent changes—His degradation and imprisonment—Variety of pernicious Doctrines—Burning of Joan Bocher—Cranmer's share in it—His conduct considered.

THE labours of the Archbishop were incessant, both in firmly preparing the way before the face of the people, and in furnishing them with instruction which should enable them steadily to walk in it.

Cranmer's Translation of Justus Jonas's Catechism.

The present year was remarkable for a publication which bore his name, and which is of considerable importance in his personal history. The book in question is known by the title of Cranmer's Catechism. The composition, however, was not his own. The work was originally written in German, by Justus Jonas, the father of a Protestant of the same name, who, with others, had fled from the persecution of the *Interim*, and was received by Cranmer with his usual courtesy and hospitality. The elder Jonas was in-

timate with Melancthon; a circumstance which, of itself, would be a sufficient introduction of his son to the kind offices of the Primate. But the younger Jonas came with a still stronger recommendation to Cranmer, as the bearer of a Latin version of his father's volume[1]: and the Archbishop's attention was so deeply engaged by the performance, that he either translated it into English himself, or else caused it to be translated under his own supervision[2]. In the course of the year 1548, this version was published with a Dedication to the King, and with a title, professing that it had been "*set forth, overseen, and corrected,*" by the Archbishop. Some observations are to be found in it, to which there is nothing that corresponds in the Latin original, and which may, therefore, be reasonably ascribed to the Archbishop himself.

It must be observed, that the work is not in the form of Question and Answer, as its shorter title would seem to imply. It is, what its longer title denotes, "an Instruction into the Christian Religion, for the singular commodity and profit of Young People." It consists of elementary expositions of the Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Sacrament of Baptism, the authority of the Keys,

[1] This Latin version is generally supposed to have been executed by Jonas the younger. Dr. Burton, the Reg. Prof. of Divin. at Oxford, conjectures that the author of it was himself the translator also. See Todd's Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 44, 45.

[2] Strype's Cranmer, vol. ii. c. 5, who erroneously dates it in 1547.

and the Lord's Supper. In this book, the Commandments are arranged conformably to the Romish practice. The two first coalesce into one, and the tenth is divided into two. But then, in the discourse on Idolatry, introduced by Cranmer into the Exposition, he remarks, that this arrangement is the work of later interpreters; and that, according to the more ancient interpretation, the words relating to images form the second commandment. The translation is, also, true to the original, in retaining, without qualification, the three Sacraments of Baptism, Penance, and the Eucharist; a circumstance which leaves it somewhat doubtful, whether Cranmer had, at that time, *finally* resolved on the rejection of all the Sacraments but two. In the Exposition of the Eucharist, the English version exhibits one variation from the Latin original, which can scarcely have been accidental and undesigned; for it speaks of our *receiving* the body and blood of Christ; whereas the Latin describes them as being *present* [1].

[1] It is scarcely worth while to mention a silly and malicious charge, afterwards raised against Cranmer out of his edition of this Catechism, on his final examination at Oxford, in 1555. It seems that two printers were employed by him on two several impressions of the work; and Martin, the King's Proctor, accused him of ordering one of them to insert the word "*not*" in the passage declaring that Christ *is* really present; in order that the *affirmative*, which appeared in one impression, might, in the other, be converted into a *negative*,—"whereby it came to pass that Christ's body was clean conveyed out of the Sacrament." They who have patience for any thing so superfluous as a vindication of Cranmer against a charge like this, may see the

The translation of a Lutheran Catechism, * is, doubtless, to be numbered among the circumstances which have given birth to the surmise, that Cranmer, at one time, adopted the Lutheran notions of the Eucharist. The question, whether he did so or not, is surely of very diminutive importance. The doctrine of Consubstantiation seems to lie, not unnaturally, in the way of an honest inquirer, on his passage from the Romish Belief to that of the Anglican Church: and, being recommended by the sanction of names, deeply pledged to the conflict with Papal superstition, it might, for a time, retain its hold upon his mind. But that Cranmer had renounced all notions of the bodily and local presence, whether Romish or Lutheran, previously to the publication of this Catechism, seems tolerably clear from the language used by him on the subject, in his answers to the ten Questions propounded in 1547; where he affirms, that the sacrifice of Christ in the Mass was so called,

The question, whether Cranmer ever was a Consubstantialist?

calumny demolished by Mr. Todd, in his Life of Cranmer, vol. ii. c. 3. But, surely, it is sufficient to state, that the Archbishop, when charged by Martin with this knavish literary juggle, positively denied all knowledge of the fact. Eccl. Biog. vol. iii. p. 551. What must have been the malice of Cranmer's enemies, when it magnified a typographical blunder (if any such blunder existed) into an act of deliberate fraud! Or, what must have been their stupidity, if they really believed that he would designedly send into the world, almost at the same time, two impressions of the same work, in direct contradiction to each other, upon a question of such importance as that of the Sacrament!

merely *because it is a memorial of his Cross and Passion*[1]. It is further manifest, from his reply to the misrepresentations of that most slippery Divine, Dr. Smith; in which he confesses that, "*not long before he wrote the Catechism*, he was in the error of the real presence, as he had been in many others, such as transubstantiation, propitiatory masses, pilgrimages, purgatory, and pardons[2]."

It is notorious that Cranmer was preceded, in embracing the Anglican doctrine of the Sacrament, by his friend and Chaplain, Nicolas Ridley. It was about the year 1545, that this eminent Divine was led to a deeper examination of the Romish dogma, by the perusal of the celebrated work of Bertram on the Body and Blood of Christ, which appeared in the middle of the ninth century. After a long course of intense and solitary study, at his Vicarage of Herne, Ridley satisfied himself that the tenets of the Papal Church, respecting the Lord's Supper, were destitute of Scriptural foundation. The light which had visited him, he endeavoured to communicate to his Dio-

[1] See ante, p. 300.

[2] Todd's Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 56. This statement of Cranmer seems conclusive as to the fact, that he had then given up the real bodily presence altogether. If there be any passages in the Catechism which inculcate the Lutheran doctrine, and which are preserved, without change or explanation, in the English version, it may have been the effect of accident, haste, or inadvertence. It can hardly be sufficient, in opposition to so much other evidence, to prove that Cranmer was, at that time, a decided Lutheran, if he ever was so.

cesan; and the result of their conferences was, that Cranmer likewise engaged vigorously in the same inquiry: and it was probably about the year 1547, that he followed the example of his Chaplain. Respecting the process by which he was enabled to discover and to establish the truth, ample satisfaction may be had from the following well-known testimony of Peter-Martyr; who in speaking of Cranmer's work on the Sacrament, against Gardiner, declares, that "there were none of the Fathers which he had not noted; no ancient or modern book which he (Martyr) had not, with his own eyes, seen noted by the Archbishop's hand. Whatsoever belonged to the whole controversy, the Archbishop had digested into several chapters,—Councils, Canons, Popes' Decrees, pertaining thereunto: and that, with so great labour, that, unless he had been an eye-witness unto it, he could not have believed others, if they had told him, in regard of the infinite toil, diligence, and exactness, wherewith the Archbishop had done it [1]."

His rejection of Transubstantiation.

But the year 1548 is *much to be remembered* for the commencement of a far greater work than the Translation of the Catechism of Justus Jonas; for it was in this year that Cran-

The English Liturgy.

[1] Strype's Cranmer, b. ii. c. 25. In his answer to Queen Mary's Commissioners at Oxford, he confessed, with perfect candour, that "he thought otherwise than what he then did, until Ridley conferred with him; and, by persuasions and authorities of Doctors, drew him quite from his opinion." Eccl. Biog. vol. iii. p. 550, 551.

mer and his brethren commenced their labours on the Liturgy of the English Church. The undertaking was one, which was urgently demanded by the adventurous spirit of the times. It is true, that the Creed, the Pater Noster, the Decalogue, and the Communion, were already becoming familiar to the ears of Englishmen, in their native tongue. But these provisions were far from satisfying the impatience of the reforming Clergy; many of whom were eagerly outstripping the tardy pace of civil or ecclesiastical authority: and the consequence of their haste was, that in proportion as the Reformation spread, every cathedral, and almost every parish church, was likely to have a separate ritual of its own, or rather an ever changing form of devotion, dependent solely on the knowledge or the ignorance, the prudence or the caprice, of the minister for the time being. It was in vain that proclamation was issued after proclamation, for the control of this licentiousness. The Government at last began to be weary of aiming at the hydra heads of innovation, as they sprung up: and besides, they were unwilling to gratify the adversaries of all change, by exhausting their severities on well-meaning, but ill-governed zeal[1]. The only permanent remedy for these fantastic irregularities, they judged to be, one complete service-book for the whole realm; to be prepared by the learning and piety of the Church, and put forth with the authority of Parliament. A Commission of twelve eminent

[1] See Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. c. ii.

Divines was accordingly appointed, with the Archbishop at its head, for the purpose of achieving this momentous task. In the month of May the Commissioners assembled to concert their measures. The rest of the summer was, probably, devoted by them to inquiry and consultation. In September they were introduced to the King, and received his solemn injunction to proceed with the work. By the end of November, the whole was finished, and passed in Convocation: and on the 15th of January, 1549, after considerable opposition, it received the final sanction of the Legislature.

To assign to every individual engaged, his proper share in this glorious performance, would be an impossible attempt[1]; but it has never been doubted, that Cranmer was the life and soul of the undertaking; and it is highly probable, that Ridley and Goodrich were his most effective auxiliaries, and that Holbeach, May, Taylor, Haynes, and Cox, all of them men of distinguished ability and learning, continued, throughout, to aid the compilation.

It would require a separate treatise to put the reader in full possession of the value and extent of this advance towards the completion of our ecclesias-

[1] The names of the twelve Commissioners are as follows:—

Goodrich,	Bp. of Ely		Dr. May,	Dean of St. Paul's
Skyp,	——	Hereford	Taylor, ——	Lincoln
Thirlby,	——	Westminster	Haynes, ——	Exeter
Day,	——	Chichester	Redmayn, Preb. Westminst.	
Holbeach	——	Lincoln	Cox, Almoner to the King	
Ridley	——	Rochester	Robertson, Archd. Leicester	

tical system: and, in truth, many a treatise has actually been devoted to the subject. It will, however, be quite necessary to insist, as briefly as possible, on the distinguishing merits of the work. In the first place, then, the purpose of its compilers was, to give to it, not the stamp of innovation, but, simply, of improvement. They did not, like Calvin, profess to compose an original Liturgy; but rather to mould into a better fabric, the noble collection of materials which antiquity had already furnished to their hands. They did not address themselves to their task, as if they imagined that, up to their days, the Church had remained uniformly ignorant *how to pray*: their object rather was, to restore her worship to its primitive simplicity and purity. With this view, every thing sound and valuable in the Romish Missal and Breviary was transferred by them, without scruple, to the English Communion Service, and to the Common Prayer: and the whole enriched from the treasures of devotion, which had been preserved in the most ancient and venerable Liturgies[1].

[1] They who are desirous of seeing, fully and distinctly displayed, the materials of which our Liturgy is composed, should, by all means, procure the "Origines Liturgicæ, or, Antiquities of the English Ritual, by the Rev. William Palmer, of Worcester College, Oxford, 1832:" a work which ought to be in the hands of every Clergyman, and we might add, of every intelligent layman of the Church of England.

One principal authority, which the authors of our Liturgy had before them in their wonderful compilation, was, evidently, the "Deliberation of Herman, Archbishop of Cologne, &c. &c.

And to the wisdom and modesty which suggested this course, we are doubtless to ascribe the incomparable solemnity and fulness of our religious formularies.

Another invaluable principle was established by this work of restoration. It gave back to the people, what had originally been theirs,—the right of joining in the worship of God with lips, and heart, and understanding. It dispersed for ever that mystical concealment which had been thickening, for centuries, over the services of the Church, as the ancient language had gradually darkened into an unknown tongue. From the beginning to the end of them, the offices were now in English; so that the Priest would, thenceforth, stand before his people, as the authorized conductor of their public devotions; as the Minister and the Brother, who, by voice and look, might raise up their hearts in adoration to the Father of Mercies.

It is a further conspicuous excellence of the Common Prayer, that the whole compass of our literature is unable to furnish any example of a style so admirably appropriate to its subject. The book consists, for the most part, of versions from the most beautiful of the ancient offices and collects. But what tongue can tell the glorious change, which, in many instances, was wrought, in the process of trans-

&c.;" which is understood to have been the work of Melancthon and Bucer, and which was printed at Bonne, in 1545. Our office of Baptism, for instance, may, almost literally, be said to consist of extracts from that volume, fol. 69—78.

fusion, by the spirit of our Reformers! In what other versions in our language shall we seek for such a combination of fidelity and freedom,—of simplicity and majesty? A cautious and humble mind will, of course, shrink from the rashness of confidently affirming, that our Reformers wrought under the express and special guidance of the Holy Ghost. And yet, the same mind, on contemplating their wondrous success, must surely be, sometimes, at a loss to imagine what lower influence could have presided over their labours and meditations[1].

[1] Archbishop Lawrence has given various instances of the vast superiority of our Liturgy in this respect. See Bampton Lect. Notes to Serm. i. p. 219. Oxf. 1820. The reader is here presented with one or two further specimens, taken almost at random:

Collect for 12th Sunday after Trinity.—"Almighty and everlasting God, who art always more ready to hear than we to pray, and art wont to give more than either we desire, or deserve; pour down upon us the abundance of thy mercy; forgiving us those things whereof our conscience is afraid, and giving us those good things which we are not worthy to ask, but through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ thy Son, our Lord. *Amen.*"

Now let this be compared with the version of the same Collect, under the title of the 11th Sunday after Pentecost, in the Roman Missal for the Laity. Ed. 1815.—"O Almighty and eternal God, who, in the abundance of thy goodness, exceedest both the merits and requests of thy suppliants, pour forth thy mercy upon us; and both pardon what our conscience dreadeth, and grant such blessings as we dare not presume to ask; through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Collect for 13th Sunday after Trinity.—"Almighty and merciful God, of whose only gift it cometh that thy faithful people do unto thee true and laudable service; Grant, we beseech thee,

To abstain, however, from further diffuseness of commendation,—perhaps the essential merits of this performance cannot be more distinctly presented to the reader, than in the following enumeration of them by Bishop Ridley.—1. The service in a language known to the people. 2. Scripture lessons instead of legendary tales. 3. The Bible read through in order, without interruptions. 4. The Creed more properly disposed. 5. The Lord's Prayer introduced immediately before reading, or other devotion; and this (6) repeated audibly, instead of secretly. 7. The *Ave Maria* omitted. 8. The Monkish metrical

that we may so faithfully serve thee in this life, that we fail not finally to attain thy heavenly promises, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*"

The following is the Romish version; Ibid. p. 420.—" O Almighty and merciful God, from whose gift it proceedeth that thy people worthily serve thee; grant, we beseech thee, that we may run on, without stumbling, to the obtaining the effects of thy blessed promises; through," &c.

The Collect for the fourth Sunday in Advent runs thus, in the Roman Missal, &c. p. 69.—" Exert, we beseech thee, O Lord, thy power, and come; and succour us by thy great might: that, by the assistance of thy grace, thy indulgent mercy may hasten what is delayed by our sins; who livest," &c. &c.

Observe how faithfully the sense is preserved, and how magnificently developed in our version:—" O Lord, raise up, we pray thee, thy power, and come among us, and with great might succour us; that whereas, through our sins and wickedness, we are sore let and hindered in running the race that is set before us, thy bountiful grace and mercy may speedily help and deliver us, through the satisfaction of thy Son our Lord; to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost be honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*"

hymns rejected; 9. As also the prayers for the dead; 10. and, lastly, addresses to Saints; together with superstitious consecrations and exorcisms. To which may be added, that the Absolution is in the precatory form, and without any proclamation of the power of the Keys.

It was ordered that the use of the Liturgy should commence on the following Whitsunday. In some places, however, there was zeal enough to outrun this command, and to introduce it at Easter. The people, generally, flocked in multitudes to hear the services of devotion in their native tongue. The satisfaction of the Clergy was more ambiguous. Their outward conformity, indeed, was almost universal; but there were, doubtless, many among them who thought of the new Service-book, much as a certain Clergyman of Lancashire did of the English communion,—that it was "the most devilish work that ever was devised [1]." That, in their estimation, there was little in the book deserving of a better character, was manifested by their loud and indignant censures of the language of the act for the uniformity of Divine Service, which ascribed the English Liturgy to "*the aid of the Holy Ghost* [2]." The expression, it may be

[1] Strype, Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. c. 11.

[2] This objection came with a singularly ill grace from the mouth of Romanists. They who made the objection then, and they who have echoed it since, must surely have forgotten that, if the Reformers were guilty of presumption, their own idol, Gardiner, must have been guilty of something rather worse: for he had declared, shortly before the appearance of the

allowed, was open to misconstruction: and it was not surprising that it should be represented, by the adversaries of the work, as the language of unhallowed presumption, rather than of humble dependence on the Spirit of grace. That men, however, of such chastised and moderate tempers as the Archbishop and his colleagues, should pretend that their labours were directed by special inspiration, is absolutely incredible. The subsequent corrections which they introduced, would alone be sufficient to repel any such imputation.

Aversion of the Romanists for the New Service Book.

But the Romanists would easily have forgiven the Reformers, if their worst offence had been an arrogant pretension to the favour of heaven. They hated the Service Book, not because it professed to be dictated by the Holy Spirit, but because it was more fatal to their influence than any one measure which had been adopted, since the affair of the Great Divorce. It appealed solely to the Bible; it stripped all disguise from the mysteries of the Church; and it soon super-

King's Book, that "*his Majesty, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost*, had componed all matters of religion." See Gardiner's Letter to the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge; Ell. Orig. Lett. No. 146, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 209.—This letter relates, in part, to the pronunciation of Greek. Gardiner was then Chancellor of the University, and was as desirous of "*componing* matters of accentuation, as the King was of *componing* matters of religion." He seems, too, very much disposed to set about it in the same imperious spirit. He says, "I will withstand fantasies, even in pronunciation, and fight with the enemy of quiet, at the first entry."

seded every Popish book of public devotion[1]. This was more than was to be patiently endured by Boner and Tonstal, and men who, like them, were incurably enamoured of the ancient corruptions. These persons sat, like watchmen on their towers, with their eye fixed on what was passing in the country around and beneath them. It was not long before promising symptoms of commotion began to appear. The spirit of rebellion was abroad, and manifested itself more especially in the West. The men of Devonshire and Cornwall were in arms: and, at first, the avowed object of their vengeance was the spreading system of inclosures; by which, as they complained, the rights and comforts of the poor were inhumanly straitened, while the idle and the rich were adding house to house, and field to field, and were building up their walls by unrighteousness, and their chambers by wrong. But the event proved that there were far other ingredients than these in their cup of bitterness, poured in, beyond all question, by the hand of a turbulent priesthood, and a disloyal magistracy. The government, at first, attempted to carry on the warfare chiefly by proclamations; which the rebels answered, partly by producing their demands, in the form of fifteen articles, and partly by laying seige to the city of Exeter. Their audacity awakened the royalists to the absurdity of a paper-

The Rebellion of Devonshire and Cornwall.

[1] See 3d and 4th Edward VI., for abolishing and destroying all Popish Books.

contest with armed rebels; and the insurgents were soon after defeated with fearful slaughter.

This event is more immediately connected with the history of Cranmer, by the fact, that he was charged to draw up a formal answer to the articles of the western insurgents. His reply was not completed, till after their defeat, and the execution of their leaders. The paper is, nevertheless, important and interesting, both with reference to the tenor of the articles themselves, and to the masterly judgment and ability with which the Primate disposed of them. From these articles it appears, that the principal complaints of these infatuated men, must have been almost wholly dictated by their spiritual guides. They contain not one syllable respecting the destruction of enclosures, and the punishment of oppressive and unfeeling landlords. But they insist copiously upon the re-establishment of every thing which the Reformation had demolished, and the demolition of every thing which the Reformation had built up. The rustics of Devonshire and Cornwall demanded, truly, the observance of the *General Councils*,—the revival of the Six Articles of Henry VIII.,—the solitary mass in Latin,—the hanging up of the Sacrament,—and the administration of it in one kind,—the return to images and holy water, and other goodly practices of the old times,—the old service of matins, mass, and even-song, in Latin,—prayers for the souls in purgatory,—the suppression of the Bible in English, —the restitution of half the abbey-lands for the establishment of religious houses, where devout men might

Cranmer's answer to the rebels.

pray for the King and Commonwealth,—and, lastly, the promotion of Doctors Crispin and Moreman to benefices, in order that they (the mutineers) might be edified by the *Catholic* ministrations of those divines! Almost their only matter of a purely secular nature, was the enlightened requisition, that no gentleman should be allowed to keep more than one servant for every hundred marks of his income. These were the demands put forward by men, who most of them came into the field with staves, and scythes, and pitchforks; and each of their propositions appeared in a style, which well became the sovereignty of the populace. It commenced with the syllables of command, "This will we have."

Such was the document to which the Archbishop had to reply; and, assuredly, if copious erudition, and admirable reasoning, could smooth down the bristles of rebellion, it is much to be lamented that his paper could not be ready, before the controversy had been decided by the sword and the gibbet. It is, in fact, neither more nor less than a cogent and vigorous exposition of the great principles of Protestantism [1].

[1] It is in Strype's Cranmer, Appendix, No. 40. It is allowed by Dr. Lingard to be "an elaborate performance;" but he contends, that, in one respect, the Archbishop was baffled by the polemics of the West; for, if the English were entitled to an English service-book, why should not the men of Cornwall have a right to a liturgy in their own language? (Ling. Hist. Eng. vol. viii. p. 61.) It so happens, that the men of Cornwall never thought of making any such demand. They complained that they did not *understand* the *English*, and *there-*

In the month of December, 1548, another heavy blow was levelled at the power of Romanism, by the passing of an Act to authorize the marriage of the Clergy. This measure, as might have been anticipated, was loudly and virulently assailed by the Papists. So intemperate and persevering were their invectives, that, in 1552, the Legislature found it necessary to confirm the law by a declaratory statute; and to enact expressly, that *all* marriages performed according to the formulary of the service-book, were good and valid, and that the children of such marriages should be fully capable of inheriting.

Act for the marriage of the Clergy.

The conduct of Boner during these commotions, had been such as to manifest a rooted aversion to the recent changes. In his own person, he complied with the modes of worship established by the Parliament; if that can be called compliance, which, in the manner of it, was so irregular, and so disdainful, that its effect on the public must have been quite as pernicious as the most stubborn resistance. He did not, for instance, venture to celebrate the Latin mass: but then, he seldom appeared in church at all, either for the purpose of preaching, or solemnizing the communion in English: and he allowed the celebration of services,

Boner's opposition to the recent changes.

fore demanded to have the religious services in *Latin!* Had they requested a version of the offices in their own tongue, Cranmer would, doubtless, have acknowledged the reasonableness of the proposal, and would probably have spared no practicable efforts for the accomplishment of their wishes.

according to the old usage, in the chapels of his cathedral, under the name of the mass of the Apostles, or our Lady's communion. He made himself, in short, the point of concentration for all the floating discontent in his diocese: and the consequence of his example was, that the churches in London, particularly that of St. Paul's, began to fall into decay,—that the Romanists withheld their tithes from the Protestant Clergy, and the Protestants from the Romish Priests,—and that the whole order and discipline of the Church was hastening to confusion [1]. His contumacious demeanour soon became intolerable, and at last brought upon him the censures of the Council. A commission for his examination, upon various charges, was issued to the Archbishop, Dr. Ridley, and Dr. May, together with the two Secretaries of State. His behaviour before the commissioners was marked by a vulgar insolence, which, in these days, would disgrace the lowest plebeian. He walked into their presence with his head covered, and then pretended that he had not observed them. Dunces and fools,—geese and woodcocks,—were the most courteous phrases he had to bestow on the witnesses who testified against him. There was something peculiarly odious in his manner towards the Primate, to whose good offices he had been, partly, indebted for his advancement in the Church. He spoke to his benefactor in terms of defiance; he reviled him for dishonouring the mass; he told him that he understood the Cate-

[1] Strype, Cranm. b. ii. c. 15.

chism which Cranmer had translated, better than he did himself. The proceedings ended with his degradation from his Bishopric, and his commitment to the Marshalsea, where he raved for "pears and puddings;" having, throughout the whole business, betrayed symptoms, which, if not arising from a disordered understanding, must have indicated an incurably hard and vicious nature [1].

Boner's degradation and imprisonment.

It would be difficult to vindicate the deprivation of Boner, upon any principles recognized in the present age: and, even at that time, it was very gravely censured. He lost his Bishopric for disobedience to an order of the Council, enjoining him to maintain, from the pulpit, the power of the King during his minority, which had been loudly and dangerously questioned by the Romish party. To us, it would appear an intolerable stretch of arbitrary power, for the King, or his advisers, to prescribe to the humblest clergyman in the realm, the subject of his discourses; and this, too, on pain of forfeiting his benefice. The only palliation that can be offered for this rigorous measure, must be derived from the difficulties of the times, and from the undefined condition of the Royal prerogative. But, whatever might be the difference of opinion respecting the legality of this proceeding, there was but little public sympathy for the sufferer. Even his own party must have been ashamed to vindicate his brutal and contemptuous behaviour

[1] See Burnet, vol. ii. p. 121—128. and Rec. No. 37.

to Cranmer and the rest of the Commissioners, which was the chief ground of his imprisonment; and it was notorious to all the world, that he had been so scandalously neglectful of all the pastoral duties of a Bishop, that vice and impiety were deriving boldness from the languor of his discipline[1]. Indeed, when we consider the turbulent and hateful temper of this man, as manifested throughout his life, we are strongly tempted to suspect, that he must have viewed with secret complacency the general relaxation of morals which was one *immediate*, but temporary effect of the Reformation; and that he purposely abstained from any vigilance or severity, which might tend to relieve it of that reproach. It is not to be denied, that the changes now in progress seemed to threaten England with calamities, similar to those which the great revolution of opinions had let loose on Germany. Men had beheld churches dishonoured by the trampling of mules, the howling of dogs, and the firing of guns,—and the altars plundered with impunity of their furniture and their ornaments: and, with multitudes, the effect of such disgraceful spectacles was, a disposition to confound together things sacred and profane, and, eventually, to set at nought all laws, both human and divine. They had, moreover, been absolved from the necessity of confession; and there was, consequently, no power on earth, before which profligacy would be compelled to blush. They had heard, too, that ma-

[1] Burnet, vol. ii. pp. 121, 122 Strype, Cranm. b. ii. c. 15.

trimony was no sacrament; and thenceforth the ordinance lost all sanctity in their eyes, and the land was afflicted and disgraced by capricious divorce, and shameless adultery. The dissolution of religious houses had filled the country with swarms of indigent, seditious, and discontented wanderers; and hence it was, that all respect for dignities was rapidly giving way. The sermons of Latimer are full of bitter outcries against the manifold excesses which were bringing down ignominy upon the Reformation, and causing its adversaries to exult and to revile. It may be suspected, without any breach of charity or justice, that Boner, and others of a similar stamp, would feel an unworthy satisfaction at these eruptions of evil, which tended to heap infamy upon the cause they hated[1]. At all events, it is indisputable, that, in his own diocese, this man did not raise up a finger for their suppression.

Variety of pernicious doctrines.

But these were not the only mischiefs which had burst forth upon the country, in that season of confusion. When once the furnace was heated, it seemed as if its ashes had been cast abroad, to descend in fretting controversies, which broke out, as it were, in boil, and blain, and ulcer, throughout the land. It would be wearisome to enumerate all the varieties of this fiery plague. It was then that we began to be infested with the doctrine, that the elect could never sin,—that the regenerate could never fall away from godly love,—that the people of the Lord are invested, nor merely with

[1] Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridæ.

a certain title to their inheritance in heaven, but with the right of helping themselves to all that may supply their necessities on earth. Then, too, as we have already seen, the Anabaptists [1] began to teach, that governors, and magistrates, are mere invaders of Christian liberty; and that penal statutes, or international law, were never made for the children of God. Of nearly the same kindred, was another class, who, even then, began to dream of a fifth monarchy on earth, destined to overthrow the sinful dynasties by which the saints were held in thraldom. Not long after these, there sprung up the fraternities of the libertines, and the followers of David George, who pretended, at one time, that he was the Christ, and at another, that he was the Holy Ghost: all of them "pestilent sects, tending to sedition, and heresy, and to the distraction of the Church of Christ [2]." And then, also, it was, that the ears of men were assailed with irreverent disputations respecting the person and dignity of the Saviour, and the divinity of the Holy Spirit. By some it was maintained, that Jesus Christ was but a human being; and that the only benefit conferred by him, was a more perfect knowledge of the true God. Others affirmed that he was not incarnate of the Virgin; and, consequently, that it was improper to call him very man, because he took no substance from his mother [3].

[1] A very complete exposition of the ravings of the Anabaptists may be seen in the "Deliberation of Herman, Archbishop of Cologne, &c. &c." fol. 63—67. Ed. Bonne, 1545.

[2] Strype, b. ii. c. 8. 28. 33. [3] Ibid. c. 8.

In the month of April in this year, the attention of the Council had been engaged with a long catalogue of extravagant opinions, embracing most of the prodigies of misbelief which have been just enumerated. The evil was deemed so serious, as to require the appointment of a Commission to proceed against those, who might be suspected or accused of entertaining such pernicious doctrines. It must here be remembered, that the Reformers of England had been uniformly assailed by the Romanists, not only as deserters from the *Catholic* Church, but as the protectors of the whole swarming brood of heresy;—as men indifferent, not merely to the holy traditions of the Papacy, but to all the fundamental principles of the Gospel. These calumnies were disseminated with increased activity, about this period, in consequence of the readiness expressed by Bullinger and Calvin, and other distinguished foreign Protestants, to adopt the discipline of the Anglican Church, and to make King Edward the Protector of the Protestant cause [1];"—a union which was vehemently deprecated by the Romanists, and which they were extremely anxious to retard, and, if possible, to defeat. It was, probably, their impatience to vindicate themselves from these imputations of impiety, that drove the English government to measures of extreme severity against the manifold perversions above adverted to. The Commissioners entrusted with this painful duty, were, the Archbishop, six other Prelates, several

[1] See Strype's Cranmer, b. ii. c. 15.

Divines of inferior rank, and certain distinguished laymen, among whom were Cecil (afterwards Lord Burghley) and Sir Thomas Smith.

Burning of Joan Bocher.

Among the persons summoned before this tribunal, was a woman by the name of Bocher, better known by the title of Joan of Kent. She was convicted of heretical opinions respecting the incarnation of the Saviour; and Cranmer was under the necessity of pronouncing her excommunication. A certificate[1] of her conviction was then presented to the Crown; and, as usual, she was delivered over to the secular arm. It would seem, however, that the government was unwilling to proceed to extremities, while there was any hope of reclaiming her from error: for she was detained a twelvemonth in custody, during which interval, she was visited by the Primate, and by Ridley, then Bishop of London. But argument and persuasion were wholly ineffectual: She adhered inflexibly to her wild imaginations. The Council, seeing no hope of her conversion, at last sent her to the stake; and, on the 2nd of May, 1550, she perished in the flames. The following year was disgraced by a similar process, against a Dutchman named George Van Parre, for questioning the Divinity of Christ; and among the Judges on that process also, we find the names of Cranmer and of Ridley. The man was condemned to the fire; and he died

[1] This certificate (which Burnet improperly calls a Petition,) is dated April 30, 1549.—Burn, vol. ii. Rec. No. 35.

heroically, kissing the faggots that were to consume him[1].

The Archbishop was not present at the Council Board, when it was finally resolved that the sentence against Joan Bocher should be carried into execution. But it is certain that his friend and faithful adherent Goodrich *was* present[2]; and it does not appear that *he* offered any opposition to the measure. If Cranmer had been decidedly adverse to the extremity of the stake, it is but reasonable to presume, that he would himself have been at his post in the Council Chamber, on the day when a resolution so important was to be discussed, in order that he might have an opportunity of protesting against it. That he fully acquiesced in the proceeding, can hardly be doubted, if we are to credit the story so confidently told by his ardent admirer, Foxe, and not contradicted by any contemporary writer; namely, that all the importunity of the Council could not prevail on Edward to set his hand to the warrant,—that Cranmer, upon this, was desired to persuade him,—that, even then, the merciful nature of that princely boy held out long against the application,—and that when, at last, he yielded, he declared, before God, that the guilt should rest on the head of his adviser[3].

Cranmer's share in it.

[1] Burn. vol. ii. Rec. No. 35, *ad fin.*

[2] Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. c. 26.

[3] It has been remarked, as throwing doubt upon this story, that the Diary of Edward is silent respecting this interview. It merely states, that "Joan Bocher, otherwise called Joan of Kent, was burnt for holding that Christ was not incarnate of the

It is, beyond all question, most afflicting, to find men like Cranmer and Ridley, assisting at bloody sacrifices, offered up by the Government of England for the purpose of establishing their good name for orthodoxy. Unhappily, however, the practice of centuries had consecrated the belief, that death, in all its horrors, was the appropriate punishment of obstinate error; and that nothing short of this extremity could permanently secure the truth from violation, or the souls of men from danger. All who had received their education in the bosom of the Romish Church, would imbibe this odious lesson from their earliest childhood. Undoubtedly, men who had themselves undergone great vicissitudes of religious opinion, ought to have learned the absurdity and the atrocity of such a notion. But the inveterate and immemorial principle was, for a long period, too powerful for common sense and common humanity. It not only helped to convert the author of the *Utopia* into an unsparing persecutor; but it, afterwards, lighted the pile which consumed Servetus: and it has left a stain of blood on the memory of Cranmer.

His conduct considered.

Virgin Mary; being condemned the year before, but kept in hope of conversion. The 30th of April, the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of Ely were to persuade her. But she withstood them, and reviled the preacher who preached at her death." King Edward's Journal, May 2, 1550, Burn. vol. ii. Rec. p. 12, Ed. 1681. The entries of a private Journal, however, are generally brief and hasty; merely dry memoranda of passing events: and their silence, as to interesting circumstances connected with those events, is a sort of negative testimony, on which it is extremely unsafe to rely.

A righteous estimate, however, of this transaction, can scarcely be formed, without recollecting, that the question here was,—not between the Papal corruptions, and the incorrupt faith of the Gospel,—but, between the Gospel itself, and what was deemed to be an impious denial of the Gospel. To us, who live in an age of toleration, this distinction may appear to be (as in truth it is) of very little value, as a palliative of the enormity of religious persecution. But, in the judgment of the Reformers of the 16th century, such a distinction was, notoriously, quite legitimate, and of the highest importance. Every one knows, for instance, that Servetus was burned, not merely as a heretic, but as a blasphemer; not only as the patron of certain erroneous theological opinions, but as one who assailed the life of Christianity itself. That the distinction might be sufficient to satisfy a man like Calvin, may not be very surprising: for, what is known of his vehement temper would almost justify the suspicion, that, if he had lived in the age of St. Dominic, he might have sat, most conscientiously, in the chair of the Inquisition. But what are we to say, when we find the most moderate and gentle of mankind, echoing back the notes of persecution? What must be our feelings on perusing the following words of Philip Melancthon to John Calvin?

"[1] Reverend and dearest Brother, I have read your

[1] "Reverende Vir, et charissime frater, legi scriptum tuum, in quo refutâsti luculenter *horrendas Serveti blasphemias:* ac Filio Dei gratias ago, qui fuit βραβευτὴς hujus tui agonis. Tibi

treatise, in which you have plainly refuted the *horrid blasphemies of Servetus;* and I render thanks to the

quoque Ecclesia, et nunc et in posteros, gratitudinem debet, et debebit. Tuo judicio prorsus assentior. *Affirmo etiam magistratus vestros juste fecisse, quod hominem blasphemum, re ordine judicatâ, interfecerunt.*" Calv. Op. tom, ix. Epist. et Resp. p. 92. Ed. Amst. 1667. The date of this letter is 14th October, 1554.

Respecting the opinions of Servetus, and the views entertained of them by Calvin and the Helvetian Churches, the reader may consult the Epistles of Calvin, p. 70—74. Op. Tom. ix. Ed. Amst. It should be mentioned that, although Calvin was earnestly desirous that the blasphemer should be punished with death, he endeavoured to change the mode of his execution. His words are,—"*nos genus mortis conati sumus mutare, sed frustrà. Cur nihil profecerimus, coràm narrandum, differo.*" Epist. Calv. Farello. Ib. p. 71. (26th Oct. 1553.) The Pastors of Basle, in their response to the Syndics and Senate of Geneva, affirm that the blasphemy of Servetus combined all the errors of Arius, Marcion, Sabellius, Photinus, Manes, and Pelagius! Ib. p. 72. From the report of the Ministers of Zurich, it appears that Servetus stigmatized Athanasius and Augustine as atheists; and called the Trinity a monster, and a *Cerberus,* a combination of three dæmoniacal spirits, a diabolical fiction, a fabulous chimera. It is not altogether wonderful that their spirits should be stirred by extravagances like these: but it is to be observed, that the Churches offered no opinion as to the manner in which the culprit should be disposed of. This was left to the secular powers of Geneva. Ibid.

The opinion of Beza, relative to the notions of Servetus, is expressed by him in language very similar to that of the Helvetian Churches. He calls him—"monstrum, ex omnibus, quantumvis rancidis et portentosis, heresibus conflatum." And again—"sumptum, *optimo jure,* de Serveto supplicium; *non ut de Sectario quodam, sed tanquam de monstro, ex merâ impietate, horrendisque blasphemiis, conflato.*" Bez. in Vit. Calv. ad an. 1553. The probability is, that Servetus was partially insane.

Son of God, who was himself the arbiter of the contest. The Church owes you a debt of gratitude, and will continue to owe it, to the latest posterity. I entirely assent to your judgment. *I also affirm that your magistrates have acted justly, inasmuch as they have put a blasphemer to death, after a solemn and judicial trial.*"

The instrument, by which Joan Bocher was delivered to the secular arm, professed that this was done "with anguish of heart, and bitterness of spirit[1]." That, with Cranmer, this was not mere formulary language, will readily be presumed by all, who have an ear for the story of his benevolent and amiable life. He joined, it is true, in a deed of cruel persecution. But he did it ignorantly, and in compliance with principles, which, for so many ages, had shut the gates of mercy on the reputed enemies to sound religious belief. In this, and in some few other instances, his fault was principally the growth of the period in which he lived; while his excellencies were more peculiarly and personally his own. It is gratifying to know, that as he advanced in knowledge and experience, he was enabled, partially at least, to emancipate himself from prejudices, which had long given a sanguinary aspect to the blessed religion of his Saviour.

1 "Cum animi amaritudine, et cordis dolore," is the language of the certificate of her conviction, addressed to the King.—Burn. vol. ii. Rec. No. 35.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Cranmer's Protestation against the authority of the Pope; in English.

The original Latin of Cranmer's Protestation is in Cranmer's Register, Lambeth library, fol. 4. It is printed in Strype's Cranmer, Appendix, No. v. The following is a translation of it:

"In the name of God, Amen. I Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury elect, do before you, persons of authority and credible witnesses, here present, say, allege, and, by this present instrument in writing, openly, publicly, and expressly protest, that—whereas before my consecration, or at the time thereof, I am obliged to take the oath, or oaths, usually taken by the Archbishops of Canterbury elect to the Pope, for form' sake, rather than for any essentiality or obligation there is in the thing, in order to my obtaining the same: It neither is, nor shall be, my will or intention to oblige myself by the said oath, or oaths, howsoever the same may seem to be worded, to any thing hereafter to be said, done, or attempted, by reason thereof, which shall be, or seem to be, contrary to the law of God, or contrary to our most illustrious King of England, or the commonwealth of this his kingdom of England, or to the laws or prerogatives of the same: And that I do not intend to oblige myself by the said oath, or oaths, in any manner whatsoever, so as to disable myself freely to speak, consult, and consent, in all and singular the matters, and things, any way concerning the Reformation of Christian religion, the government of the Church

of England, or the prerogatives of the crown thereof, or the good of the commonwealth; *and every where to execute and reform those things, which I shall think fit to be reformed in the Church of England.* And I do protest and profess, that I will take the said oath, or oaths, according to this interpretation and this sense, and none other, nor in any other manner. And I do further protest, that whatsoever the oath may be, which my proctor hath already taken to the Pope in my name, it was not my intention or will to give him any power, by virtue whereof he might take any oath in my name contrary to, or inconsistent with, the oath by me already taken, or hereafter to be taken, to our said illustrious King of England: And, in case he hath taken any such contrary or inconsistent oath in my name, I do protest, that the same being taken without my knowledge, and without my authority, shall be null and invalid. *And these my protestations I will have to be repeated, and reiterated, in all the clauses and sentences of the said oaths:* From which [protestations] I do not intend, in any manner whatsoever, by deed or word, to recede, nor will recede, but will always hold the same to be firm and binding to me."

No. II.

Record of Cranmer's proceedings at his Consecration, in making his Protest public.

The following is the Latin Record, (from Lamb. MSS. No. 1136.) of the proceedings of Cranmer, in making his protestation public: [1]

"In Dei nomine Amen. Per presentis publici instrumenti seriem cunctis appareat evidenter, et sit notum,

[1] From Todd's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 65, note 1.

quòd anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tercio, etc. mensis verò Marcii die tricesimo, in domo Capitulari Collegii sancti Stephani prothomartyris prope palacium Regium Westm. etc. constitutus personaliter reverendissimus in Christo pater dominus Thomas in Cantuar' Archiep' (ut dicebat) electus, in mea [Watkins] prothonotarii Regii ac notarii subscripti, ac venerabilium virorum magistri Johannis Tregonwell legum doctoris, et Thome Bedyll clerici à consiliis dicti domini nostri Regis, Richardi Gwent decretorum doctoris Curie Cantuar' officialis principalis, et Johannis Cocks legum doctoris etc. vicarii in spiritualibus generalis, testium in hac parte specialiter adhibitorum presentia, *protestationes quasdam fecit, legit, et interposuit, ac cetera fecit, prout in quadam papiri scedula, quam tunc ibidem in manibus suis tenuit et perlegit, plenius continebatur. Cujus quidem scedule* verus tenor, (nil addito vel dempto) de verbo ad verbum sequitur, et talis est. In Dei nomine, Amen. Coram vobis, etc." (See the Protest, in the two preceding pages.) Then Watkins adds, "Super quibus omnibus et singulis premissis dictus rev. pater me prothonotarium et notarium predictum unum vel plura publicum seu publica instrumentum sive instrumenta exinde conficere, ac testes superius nominatos testimonium perhibere rogavit et requisivit.

"Et deinde die mense et anno predictis dictus rev. dom. Thomas electus, in mea et prelibatorum ven. virorum presentia testium ad hoc etiam adhibitorum, dict' domum Capitularem exivit, et ad gradus summi altaris dicti Collegii vestibus sacerdotalibus amictus ad recipiendum munus consecracionis perrexit," etc. Then follows the recital of the oath of obedience to the Pope, and Watkins's account how Cranmer, as he had protested, understood it: "Manibus suis tenens, ante lecturam ejusdem scedule et juramenti in eadem contenti prestacionem, in

mea et eorundem testium presentia asseruit et protestatus est, se dictam scedulam lecturum ac juramentum inibi insertum prestiturum sub premissis protestacionibus alias per eundem eodem die in dicto domo Capitulari in mea et eorundem testium presentia habitis et factis, et non aliter neque alio modo. Et incontinenter post premissa *eandem scedulam perlegit, et ut in eâdem continetur juravit. Super quibus assertione et protestacione* per eundem modo premisso tunc ibidem factis unum vel plura publicum seu publica exinde conficere instrumentum sive instrumenta, ac testes prescriptos testimonium perhibere etiam tunc rogavit et requisivit.

" Quibus sic peractis die mense et anno predictis, ac solenni consecracione ejusdem rev. patris finita et expedita, idem rev. pater dom. Tho. Cantuar. Archiepiscopus ante dictum summum altare pallium recepturus, in mea et dict. Joh. Tregonwell, Tho. Bedill, et Rich. Gwent, testium predict. ad hoc specialiter adhibitorum, ante prestacionem juramenti infrascripti iterum protestatus est se hujusmodi sequens juramentum sub eisdem protestacionibus ut premittitur in dicto domo Capit. habitis et factis," etc. Then follows the oath as it is printed, from the Register of Cranmer, by Strype and others; and Watkins continues, " Super *qua protestacione* sic ut premittitur per eundem reverendissimum *tercio facta et habita*, idem rev. pater me prothonotarium et notarium publicum subscriptum unum vel plura publicum seu publica instrumentum exinde conficere, ac testes predictos testimonium perhibere *de et super eisdem eciam tercio rogavit et requisivit.*'

The substance of the above document is here subjoined in English, but relieved from the load of official phraseology:

" Be it known that, on the 30th March, 1533, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop elect of Canterbury, appeared per-

sonally in the Chapter House of St. Stephen's, Westminster; and, in the presence of me, (Watkins) Royal Prothonotary, of John Tregonwell, Doctor of Laws, of Thomas Beydell, Chaplain to the King, of Richard Gwent, Official Principal of the Court of Canterbury, and of John Cocks, Doctor of Laws, Vicar-General, made and read certain protestations, as in a certain sheet of paper which he then held in his hands and read, was more fully contained. Of which paper the true tenor is, word for word, as follows :" (Here is inserted the Protestation printed above in Appendix, No. 1.) The record then continues,—" concerning all which premises, the Reverend Father required and demanded of me, the Prothonotary, to make a public instrument, duly attested by the above-named witnesses."

" The Reverend Father then left the Chapter House, and proceeded to the steps of the High Altar, in the sacerdotal habits, to receive Consecration: and, there, before reading and taking the oath, he protested in my presence, and that of the same witnesses, that he would do so under the same protestation which he had already made in the Chapter House, and in no other manner whatever. He then read the oath and took it: and again required, that an attested record might be made of what he had done."

" The Consecration being finished, the Archbishop, when about to receive the pall, before the High Altar, in the presence of me, and the same witnesses, again protested that he would take the oath, under the same protestations as before: and desired, a third time, that a public instrument, attested by the same witnesses, might be made to that effect."

It is, therefore, incontestable, that after the Protest was made, in the Chapter House, (the place appropriate to all such public and solemn proceedings) the subsequent

ceremonies were twice interrupted, for the purpose of informing the auditory that such a Protest had been made, and would become a matter of public record; and that this, (according to Pole's confession), was done "in the presence of as much people as the Church would hold [1]."

If Cranmer, in imitation of the practice of his predecessor, Warham, had retired, with his three or four witnesses, to a private room at Lambeth, and, after making his protest *there*, had contented himself with desiring that it might be entered in his own Register,—there would have been very reasonable ground for stigmatizing the whole proceeding as a juggle. As it was, the affair was, throughout, conducted in such a manner, as to invite the public attention to the fact.

Had the Archbishop been the dissembler and the time-server, which he is sometimes represented, it is difficult to see why he should not, like many of his Colleagues, have, first, quietly taken the oath to the Pope,—and, afterwards, like them, have supported the independence of the Anglican Church, and the Ecclesiastical Supremacy of the King. It would have been time enough for an unprincipled hypocrite to produce his *salvos*, and his explanations, when charged with duplicity. If Cranmer had been such a character, he might well have taken his chance of any such accusation. Had he been so accused, he might have had his Jesuitical answer ready,—namely, that he never so understood the oath, as to restrain him from measures derogatory to the honour of the Pope, and advantageous to that of the King. If not so accused, all would have been well. He would, then, have been precisely in the same condition as Warham, and others, who had taken the oath to the Pope, and yet had supported

[1] Todd's Cranmer, vol. i. p. 67, note 2.

innovations which were fatal to his power. We may, therefore, surely contend that his conduct, on this occasion, was a pattern of probity, as compared with theirs. Had he, indeed, at the peril of his head, refused to accept the Archbishopric, if accompanied by Bull from Rome or oath to the Pope, his magnanimity would have been a just theme of admiration. But, at all events, it must be allowed, that in making this public and solemn protestation, he did that which was honest and courageous in the next degree; and this, too, in an age abounding in fraudulent and serpentine casuistry.

No. III.

Cranmer's Letter to Henry VIII. on behalf of Anne Boleyn.

"Pleaseth it your most noble Grace, to be advertised, that at your Grace's commandment by Mr. Secretary his letters, written in your Grace's name, I came to Lambeth yesterday, and do there remain, to know your Grace's further pleasure. And forasmuch as without your Grace's commandment, I dare not contrary to the contents of the said letters, presume to come unto your Grace's presence, nevertheless, of my most bounden duty, I can do no less than most humbly to desire your Grace, by your great wisdom, and by the assistance of God's help, somewhat to suppress the deep sorrows of your Grace's heart, and to take all adversities of God's hands both patiently and thankfully. I cannot deny, but your Grace hath great causes, many ways, of lamentable heaviness; and also that in the wrongful estimation of the world, your Grace's honour of every part is so highly touched, (whether the things that commonly be spoken of be true or not,)

that I remember not that ever Almighty God sent unto your Grace any like occasion to try your Grace's constancy throughout, whether your Highness can be content to take of God's hand as well things displeasant, as pleasant. And if he find in your most noble heart such an obedience unto his will, that your Grace without murmuration and overmuch heàviness, do accept all adversities, not less thanking him, than when all things succeed after your Grace's will and pleasure, not less procuring his glory and honour; then I suppose your Grace did never any thing more acceptable unto him, since your first governance of this your realm. And, moreover, your Grace shall give unto Him occasion to multiply and increase his graces and benefits unto your Highness, as he did unto his most faithful servant Job; unto whom, after his great calamities and heaviness, for his obedient heart, and willing acceptation of God's scourge and rod, *Addidit ei Dominus cuncta duplicia.* And if it be true, that is openly reported of the Queen's Grace, if men had a right estimation of things, they should not esteem any part of your Grace's honour to be touched thereby, but her honour only to be clearly disparaged. And I am in such a perplexity, that my mind is clean amazed. For I never had better opinion in woman, than I had in her; which maketh me to think that she should not be culpable. And again, I think your Highness would not have gone so far, except she had surely been culpable. Now I think that your Grace best knoweth, that next unto your Grace, I was most bound unto her of all creatures living. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your Grace, to suffer me in that, which both God's law, nature, and also her kindness, bindeth me unto; that is, that I may with your Grace's favour wish and pray for her, that she may declare herself inculpable and innocent. And if she be found culpable, considering your Grace's

goodness towards her, and from what condition your Grace of your only mere goodness took her, and set the crown upon her head, I repute him not your Grace's faithful servant and subject, nor true unto the realm, that would not desire the offence without mercy to be punished, to the example of all other. And as I loved her not a little, for the love which I judged her to bear towards God, and his Gospel; so if she be proved culpable, there is not one that loveth God and his Gospel, that ever will favour her, but must hate her above all other; and the more they favour the Gospel, the more they will hate her. For then there was never creature in our time, that so much slandered the Gospel. And God has sent her this punishment, for that she feignedly hath professed his Gospel in her mouth, and not in heart, or deed. And though she have offended so, that she hath deserved never to be reconciled unto your Grace's favour, yet Almighty God hath manifoldly declared his goodness towards your Grace, and never offended you, but your Grace, I am sure, knowledgeth that you have offended him. Wherefore I trust that your Grace will bear no less entire favour unto the truth of the Gospel, than you did before: forasmuch as your Grace's favour to the Gospel was not led by affection unto her, but by zeal unto the truth. And thus I beseech Almighty God, whose Gospel he hath ordained your Grace to be defender of, ever to preserve your Grace from all evil, and give you at the end the promise of his Gospel.

From Lambeth, the 3d day of May.

After I had written this letter unto your Grace, my Lord Chancellor, my Lord of Oxford, my Lord of Sussex, and my Lord Chamberlain of your Grace's house, sent for me to come unto the Star-chamber; and there declared unto me such things, as your Grace's pleasure was they

should make me privie unto. For the which I am most bounden unto your Grace. And what communication we had together, I doubt not but they will make the true report unto your Grace. I am exceedingly sorry, that such faults can be proved by the Queen, as I heard of their relation. But I am, and ever shall be,

Your faithful subject,

Your Grace's most humble subject, and Chaplain,

I. Cantuariensis.

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